



VOTES FOR WOMEN

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WHAT THE LABOUR PARTY OUGHT TO DO



ROBIN HOOD AND HIS MERRIE MEN: (all) "Beshrew us, knaves and caitiffs, an ye make not way for ye women-folk eke with ye menne-folke 'twill bee ye downfalle of ye alle!"

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Our Cartoon	781	The Man in the Street	787
The Outlook	781	Announcements	787
Lessons of History	782	Cabinet Ministers' Holidays	788
A Problem. By Theresa Gough	783	Deputation to Mr. Borden	788
The Dublin Prisoners—Grave	784	The W.S.P.U. and Mr. Fawcett	788
News	784	The Holiday Campaign	789
A Staffordshire Novel and other	785	Opinions of Liberals	789
Reviews	785	Thank God for Christabel!	790
In Defence of Militancy	786	A Bit of a Difference	790
P.W.W. and the W.S.P.U.—A	787	Campaign Throughout the	790
Comment	787	Country	790

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

Very grave accounts reach us from Dublin of Mrs. Leigh's state of health, and most alarming of all are the references to her mental condition made by Sir James Dougherty in the course of his interview with Miss Grace Roe, the W.S.P.U. representative in Dublin. We cannot forget what happened a little while ago to another Suffragist prisoner, Mr. William Ball, who after a course of forcible feeding was thrust into a criminal lunatic asylum, where but for his timely rescue he would probably have become hopelessly insane. We cannot forget either that the recently issued medical report upon "The Forcible Feeding of Suffragist Prisoners" states that "the

wonder is that they retained their sanity." If Mrs. Leigh's mind is becoming affected, then the only thing for the authorities to do is to place her in the hands of her friends, who will spare neither trouble nor expense to repair the grave mischief which the Government have done. Perhaps the authorities will deny that her mind is affected. If they do, then the only remaining explanation of Sir James Dougherty's very ominous words is that Mrs. Leigh is to be thrust into a criminal lunatic asylum, in order to break her spirit and in order that it may be more difficult for her comrades outside to get her set free. We ask that our readers will help in the crisis that has arisen.

A Vindictive Policy—Sale at Holmwood

The Government are persisting in their vindictive policy of extracting a heavy fine from the defendants in the Conspiracy Trial. The bailiffs are still in possession at Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's house at Holmwood. Mr. Pethick Lawrence's business representative has asked that the matter shall be allowed to remain in abeyance at least until his client returns from Canada, but he has met with an uncompromising refusal. Five days from now the authorities may issue an announcement of the sale of the furniture at "The Mascot." Particulars of this we shall give in due course, as we anticipate that members and friends of the W.S.P.U. will wish to be present as a mark of their sympathy with Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and their indignation at the Government's act of persecution. If Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence are to have their house invaded and their furniture sold, it is time that Cabinet Ministers were compelled to pay out of their own pockets for the special police protection

which they have hitherto enjoyed at the public expense.

The "Labour Leader"

The *Labour Leader* devoted the leading article in its last issue to a defence of the Labour Party against our criticisms. This defence is so lame as to be more like a confession of sin. For the *Labour Leader* does not hide the fact that the Labour Members are determined not to endanger the Government for the sake of Votes for Women. Our claim that the Labour Members shall wage war upon the Government until they consent to include a Woman Suffrage clause in their Franchise Bill, the *Labour Leader* described as "wrong suggestions," and adds:—

It is hardly worth while to reply to those who reason after this fashion. A hot sense of wrong has so affected their judgment that the impossible becomes the possible, the absurd appears to them wise and reasonable.

We ask, and shall be interested in the answer, why it is absurd and impossible to expect the Labour Members to threaten and, if need be, to destroy a Government in order to vindicate a principle and to enfranchise millions of women toilers! The unfavourable impression conveyed by the *Labour Leader* is strengthened by the report that one very prominent Labour Member has publicly declined to "sacrifice" the Manhood Suffrage Bill for the sake of women. We are glad to see that the more enlightened men among the Labour rank and file are protesting against the unworthy attitude of their Parliamentary representatives.

A Challenge to Mr. Snowden

Mr. Philip Snowden writes in this week's

Christian Commonwealth on "The Outlook for Woman Suffrage." From him we should have expected something better than from certain other members of his Party. But no, all that he has to say is that women ought to open their mouths and shut their eyes and take what Mr. Asquith sends them. We shall deal more fully with his article next week, but we will here draw attention to one point of especial importance. Mr. Snowden says: "I would have liked to see the Government shouldering the responsibility for Woman Suffrage from the introduction of the Reform Bill." Then why, we should like to know, does not Mr. Snowden, with the rest of his Party, insist that the Government shall now shoulder the responsibility for Woman Suffrage? The Labour Members, with their forty-one votes, have the power to compel the Government to do this. Will they use their power? We challenge Mr. Snowden to answer yes or no.

Another W.S.P.U. Deputation to Mr. Borden

Mr. Borden, having expressed his willingness to receive a Woman Suffrage Deputation in Canada, the W.S.P.U. of Canada is asking him to grant an interview. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will accompany the Deputation, and among its members will be her sister-in-law, Mrs. Harold Pethick, and some of the militants who, after taking their share in the struggle for the vote in the Mother-country, have now settled in Canada. This is a very opportune moment to ask Mr. Borden and his Government to pass a Bill making women electors of the Dominion Parliament, because in the Session just about to open it is proposed to carry a Bill dealing with the kindred question of Redistribution of seats. The policy of the W.S.P.U. is to demand that the franchise for the Dominion Parliament be granted by the Dominion Government. The franchise for the Provincial Parliaments must, of course, be granted by those Parliaments, but the Dominion Government will be held responsible for giving or withholding the franchise for the Dominion Parliament. "We are one people," said Mr. Borden, speaking of the inhabitants of the various parts of the British Empire. That fact alone gives the W.S.P.U. of this country a right to question him concerning Votes for Women. Women are asked to leave the United Kingdom and to settle in Canada, and surely they may be permitted to ask some questions and express their views concerning the political status which Canada accords to them. Moreover, the W.S.P.U. is an Imperial organisation, and will never be content until in every self-governing part of the Empire women vote on equal terms with men.

The "Times" Comment

The *Times* accuses the W.S.P.U. of striking the only jarring note heard during Mr. Borden's visit. Where there exists an injustice jarring notes will always be heard. We hope that when Mr. Borden pays his next visit to this country the W.S.P.U. will be able to thank him and congratulate him upon having given votes to women. Mr. Borden's reply to the Deputation was encouraging if only because it erected no barrier. From him we have had no foolish and ignorant talk of "disaster" such as Mr. Asquith indulges in. Mr. Borden says, and here again he shows himself the superior of Mr. Asquith, that he is "perfectly willing to listen to reason and argument, and to weigh them with the greatest possible care." If Mr. Borden is prepared to be guided by reason and to respond to argument, then militancy will not be needed in Canada. It would, however, have been a piece of affectation for the W.S.P.U. Deputation not to refer to the consequences which have in this country resulted from the Government's unstatesmanlike dealing with the Suffrage question, and to the similar consequences which would necessarily result if the Government of Canada were to follow the example of Mr. Asquith and his colleagues.

Irish Women and the Home Rule Bill

Judging by the communications appearing week by week in the *Irish Citizen*, representative Irish women are strongly opposed to the suggestion that Mr. Snowden's Woman Suffrage amendment to the Home Rule Bill shall be withdrawn in exchange for a promise from Mr. Redmond to use his influence in support of the Women's amendments to the Manhood Suffrage Bill. Opposition to this scheme is partly due to the conviction that Mr. Redmond cannot be held to his pledged word. Thus Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington, Chairman of the Irish Women's Franchise League, writes:—

We in Ireland may be presumed to know our Mr. John Redmond and his Party better than the National Union can. We have had pledges from members of that Party in support of the Conciliation Bill, and repeated personal pledges from Mr. Redmond that he would not influence their vote, and yet it was admittedly the vote of the Irish Party that killed (at Mr. Redmond's suggestion) the Conciliation Bill. A promise of conditional support, in view of the Irish Party's record of treachery, could therefore carry no weight or conviction. A deal with these notorious promise-breakers is unthinkable. No self-respecting Suffrage organisation can have any truck with Mr.

Redmond's Party. There exists but one instrument that will bring them into line—the Government Whip.

"Wobblers."

There are many Suffragists who believe that even though they obey the law, they need not trust the Prime Minister and submit to his attempt to shirk his constitutional responsibility in the matter of Votes for Women. A moving spirit amongst this school of Suffragists is Miss Winifred Holiday, who in a recent letter to the Press destroys the argument that an unofficial amendment to the Manhood Suffrage Bill can be carried by the aid of wobblers. She says:—

The Liberal "wobblers" have already been captured by the threat that the Government will be split if the amendment is carried. . . . In reality, there will be no "free vote" when the amendment comes on, and the ground has thus already been cut from beneath the feet of those who believed Mr. Asquith's pledge to be genuine.

A Step in the Right Direction

Miss Holiday contends that the Anti-Suffrage Premier and his followers and the Government have held the winning cards from the beginning, that they are already secure of the Liberal wobblers and the Nationalists, and that they hope so far to capture the hesitating Labour Party as to obtain their abstention from a hostile vote on the third reading of the Bill if women are not included. Appealing to Suffragists to unite in demanding a Government measure which would escape all these perils, Miss Holiday says:—

What we want the non-militant organisations to realise is that their continued dependence on Government "pledges" or on the support of parties with their own axes to grind is, in our eyes, as great a danger to the success of our common cause as militant methods appear to them. We do not know how, without militancy, the demand for a Government measure can be enforced, but to formulate that demand is at any rate one step in the right direction.

It is reported that the Hatchet charge against Mrs. Leigh, which on August 7 was postponed to the October Sessions, has been withdrawn. We reserve comment until we are in possession of further details.

THE LESSONS OF HISTORY

If meetings have no effect—if the open and almost universal expression of opinion has no power on the Administration and the Legislature, then, inevitably, the minds of the people will seek other channels with a view to obtaining and securing the rights which are so contemptuously denied them. If I am wrong in believing this, then history is a lie from the beginning, and we have all been mistaken in our estimate of the causes out of which many of the great and deplorable transactions it has recorded have sprung. —John Bright (in a letter written February 16, 1867).

In judging a system of Government, we know no test by which to distinguish good government from bad, except this—that good government is government which is conducted and founded upon the assent and consent of the governed. —Sir William Harcourt in 1887.

What then is the duty of an English Minister? To effect by his policy all those changes which a revolution would do by force. —Lord Beaconsfield in 1844.

We have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned—we have remonstrated—we have supplicated. . . . Our petitions have been slighted, our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded. . . . In vain after these things may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained—we must fight! . . . There is no retreat but in submission and slavery. . . . Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty—or give me death. —Patrick Henry in 1775.

If we look back to the riots and tumults which at various times have happened in England, we shall find that they did not proceed from the want of a Government, but that the Government was itself the generating cause; instead of consolidating society, it divided it; it deprived it of its natural cohesion, and engendered discontents and disorders which otherwise would not have existed. —Tom Paine's *Rights of Man*.

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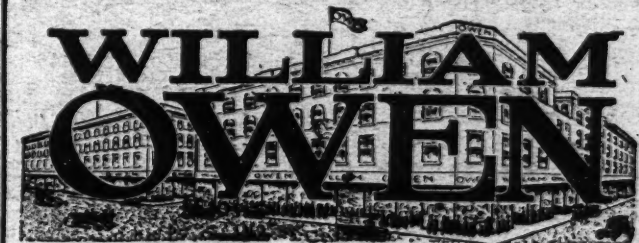
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A PROBLEM

By Theresa Gough

Since my release from prison I have often been asked how I escaped being forcibly fed during the April hunger strike. I wish I could answer that question satisfactorily. It will probably always be a puzzle. But let others judge for themselves.

In the depths of my consciousness I had hoped and prayed that a miracle might happen to save me from what I regarded as a monstrous outrage against the sanctity of the individual. Only a miracle, I knew, could save me, and yet to objective vision nothing phenomenal occurred when the medical torturer entered my cell. And yet . . .

My thoughts flash back to that morning when the strike became known. The sun was flooding the exercise-yard with warmth, caressing the lilacs into early blossom. But it only made the anxious, haggard faces of our women look even more ghastly than when they first filed out of their cells. We had been fasting for two days, but so far had kept it secret. That was easy enough, for the pigeons were voracious little visitors at our windows.

We knew we should get solitary confinement as soon as it was found out. No more exercise, no chance of exchanging a word of mutual encouragement, no chapel, no books. And we dreaded the lack of mental stimulus at such a time—the long, lonely hours, with nothing left to us but the anguish of slow starvation or the bitter, brooding regret that we had not adequately earned our scandalous sentences.

For my own part, I feared above all to be shut up with the hideous spectre which always seemed to glare at me out of the evening gloom in the corners of my cell. "You'll get forcibly fed," it used to gibber at me, until I had to clench my teeth to keep from screaming. Perhaps the depth of degradation was to think of enduring it at the hands of a man who smirked and made flippant remarks meanwhile. Though, to be sure, it might be even worse to suffer it under the eyes of that other—those eyes in which lurked the cruel gleam of an Inquisitor.

We were sitting on the ground near the centre of the yard—very close together, for we knew we should soon be parted. And who could tell what might happen? Some of us were very old and frail, others mere girls. We were wondering if our comrades in a distant block of the vast prison had begun the strike yet. We knew they were as determined as ourselves to revolt, for the status which civilisation has always accorded to political prisoners had been withheld from us.

True, the Government, under pressure of public opinion, was now offering certain privileges "as a reward for good behaviour," forsooth! A sop to keep "the pampered Suffrage prisoners" quiet in the third division! But Suffragettes had won Rule 243A for themselves at the cost of untold suffering in the past, only to have it snatched spitefully away now. We would demand it as our right, and decline to take it as a favour.

Suddenly the matron joined us. The other ward had started first. But our famished faces had betrayed us. The Governor knew all. She bore a message from him, however. We were to return quietly to our cells. At exercise in the afternoon we should be allowed to consult—a great concession—with our comrades, and for her own part she trusted something might thus be arranged to avert the suffering, and so on. We could feel how sincerely she meant it, and we agreed.

When the hour for exercise came we were told the doctor had ordered us close confinement! Next day forcible feeding began. When he came to me he announced his intention to feed me before even feeling my pulse. But I had just strangled the spectre, and felt strangely calm. I criticised his action—his indecent haste—quite candidly. I reproached him for the trickery. He slipped nervously out of the cell. Hearing voices, I followed to the door.

"Oh, just as you like, my dear fellow," he was saying. "I only thought you might like to see this specimen here." He jerked his head towards my cell. "I think I've seen enough of them already to write a book about them," laughed his colleague as he disappeared.

"And so he's not interested in seeing any more specimens to-day," said I, as he re-entered the cell. "You quite misunderstood," he murmured feebly.

"Oh, I think not. My hearing is most acute," I assured him. "Now let me congratulate you," I went on, and suddenly I felt as if I were towering above him.

"I fail to understand you," he retorted uneasily.

My head seemed to me to be touching the tall stars. "Let me congratulate you and your Liberal Government on all you are doing for our Cause." I was gazing fixedly into his shifting eyes. "You are giving us a splendid plank in our platform of propaganda. I am a street speaker as well as a journalist, and I promise you I'll make this known when I get out."

"Have you ever been forcibly fed before?" he asked uneasily.

"Never," I said in a voice which I could not recognise as my own. But he vanished so quickly that I could only sit down and gasp. Then I felt limp, and little, and dazed.

The heavy iron door clanged. I heard the rattle of the chains and the wardresses' keys. There was the tramping of feet on the flagged floor, and presently a suppressed scream. Then confusion of sounds for a long time before silence settled down. And the shadows gathered, but the spectre never appeared again: nor did the doctor.

TO LIBERAL WOMEN—A CALL TO ARMS

By Anne Macdonell.

At the present moment there is some confusion of mind among you Liberal women who desire the Suffrage. By your concerted action you have done much to put the present Government in power, and to keep it in place. You can still, if you so desire, help to prolong its existence, and thus delay your own enfranchisement. Or you have the power to make its continuance in office conditional on the granting of the Suffrage by so weakening the hold of Liberal candidates on constituencies that these candidates, largely indifferent now, and often contemptuous, will serve as the best of all levers to force a measure of justice from the Government.

Your central organisation gives you no clear lead, but says weakly: "Yes, the Government is unjust to us women, and perhaps a day may come when we may have to send an ultimatum to Messrs. Asquith and Co." The Government do not believe in that day—small blame to them! Organisations are useful things, but the best are apt to grow stiff and unwieldy in time; and, besides, the Women's Liberal Federation and its allied associations have been weakened by one special flaw from their very start. The individual members have always been for the most part sincere and intelligent Liberals; and the disinterestedness of a vast number of unenfranchised persons giving hard service to a party who ignored their claims while using their energies freely, is undisputed. But the Executives have been too largely ruled by socially important persons, wives, sisters, daughters, aunts, of Liberal Members and candidates, pledged to the Party programme, and to the Party programme only. As unenfranchised Liberals you women had a fine chance of independence, and have thrown it away to become devoted Party slaves. Thus were you hindered from wasting your energies on "fads" it is answered. But better a propaganda of "fads"—if by such are meant opinions and measures still unripe for legislation—than the long servile propping of a caucus. True, in the early days your apprenticeship to the Party gave you a chance of political experience; but that apprenticeship has now been served, and Liberal Members and candidates seem as far as ever from acknowledging the logical result of it.

There is one fact of the case which has received too little attention. I speak under the correction of such as may know the history of the Women's Liberal Associations better than myself; but so far as my own experience goes, I speak with assurance. The cry of the men's official organisations and of the candidates to you women has ever been, "Come and help! Send us workers! Canvass! Speak for us! Use all your arts to get us votes!" Never, so far as I know, have these clamorous bodies or individuals asked only for competent workers, well-instructed canvassers—though they have got them—or taken the faintest trouble to find out the kind of work proffered them. Anyone who would drudge to get them votes was welcome—though I admit the most welcome of all have been the ladies who would dash up and down the constituency in fine raiment and lend a kind of social prestige to the candidature. So far as Liberal candidates are concerned, the plea that women are unequal to the task of taking a very direct share in political work, is proved to be sheer humbug. Practically they have assumed every woman to be capable of something far more arduous and responsible than the recording of a vote. How often has Mr. Harcourt, I should like to know, declined the services of women willing to secure votes for him, on the ground that they are incapable of political judgment, or, if he prefers, far too good and fine to be engaged in the gross work of politics? No. Votes are always good for men, however secured; and they are always bad for women, however hardly earned.

The Federation and the Associations generally will give you no clear lead. Then let those who regard Women's Suffrage as something more than an ordinary political measure to be shoved aside and kicked behind other measures of infinitely less far-reaching consequence, come out. And let not your coming out be furtive or apologetic, but open and protesting. Even the action of isolated twos and threes will be effective—though there will be little isolation. The

IRISHWOMEN'S COMMITTEE FOR SECURING VOTES UNDER THE HOME RULE BILL

Numbers of Irishwomen have already responded to last week's appeal, and several sub-committees are being formed, but as these are mostly in and near London, a special appeal is made to Irishwomen in other parts of the country to send in their names at once. Irishwomen who are keen on seeing the political emancipation of their sex a reality, will not fail now in getting support for Mr. Snowden's amendment to the Home Rule Bill. Names should be sent to the Secretaries—Miss Aileen Connor-Smith and Miss Geraldine Lennox, at 43, Kempsford Gardens, Earl's Court, London, S.W., who will also be glad to receive donations towards expenses of postage, &c. These will be acknowledged in VOTES FOR WOMEN.

courage of a few leading spirits will reveal and touch to life thousands only waiting for a call. You will hear at once, of course, the bitter cry of the wives and sisters, the mothers and the aunts, of the Liberal candidates—"Oh, the horrid schism! Oh, the disloyalty!" Face the accusation and examine it. It is not merely on the ground of policy I appeal to you to secede, not merely because you have in your hands the most effective weapon against a Government that refuses you justice and treats your demands with contempt, but first of all, and mainly, in the name of Liberalism.

Are you Liberals worthy of the name in supporting a Government the most fundamentally illiberal of modern times? Its foreign policy has been one long blunder, at once provocative and servile. What quarrel have we with Germany? What quarrel has Germany with us? Yet the Cabinet has all but involved us in a monstrous war, beside which the Tory crime in South Africa would seem but a trifle. The menace hangs over us still; and the welfare, nay, the very civilisation of our country, is starved to maintain and increase a hideous array of armaments, while vast portions of our land are turned into manœuvring grounds and firing ranges. Our blood is being sucked by vampire Dreadnoughts; and what is a Dreadnought but a Fear-all? What of our broken agreements as to the integrity and independence of Persia? After all our promises, what check have we given to the brutal designs of Russia in that country—where English honour must now be a thing to jeer at? What protest did we dare to make when Italy, in a fit of wild-cat Jingoism, snapped the treaties she was bound by? Under this Liberal Government England dare not raise a finger in the cause of freedom.

Does it please you to watch the English Parliament fast becoming a mockery, to see Liberal Members at the beck and call of a Cabinet which is practically a secret society? The defiance of the Tory House of Lords, being open, was as nothing to the sinister menace to freedom and independence of the Cabinet of Asquith, Grey, and Co. Apart from Old Age Pensions, what large and courageous measure of justice to labour can they point to? How in the recent Dock Strike have they held the balance between the strong organisation of money and the hunger-weakened organisation of the poor? Home Rule? But it was not Mr. Asquith, but Gladstone who called out the moral force that made the concession possible. It is as if in a family, who for ages had been contracting and disowning a great debt, one had arisen who saw his duty, who brought the rest of his brethren to own it, who earned the money to discharge the debt, and then died. To him surely the credit is due—not to the lawyer who does little more than hand over the cheque.

As this Government grows older more and more does it threaten freedom, and it is a sign of the enfeebled Liberalism of the country that attacks on liberty of speech and opinion are constantly tolerated with meekness. Not to speak of the gagging of women in the Press and at public meetings, how poor and ineffective was the protest against the arrest and imprisonment of Tom Mann for speaking out what most civilised persons feel in their hearts! The old traditional sturdy Liberalism sadly needs reinforcing. That is the spirit the Suffragettes are showing, and few besides them; and their persecution is not merely an attack on Woman Suffrage, but the symptom of a decaying Liberalism, which permits injustice and calls it law. Come out of your Associations, then, to be better Liberals.

What measure of justice to women can you expect from Mr. Asquith? As well look for delicate poetry in a law book. What from the slippery Chancellor, with whom his own ingenious little Bills will always stand first? What from a Home Secretary who tortures women rather than own them to be political offenders? What from Mr. Burns, from whom the mere sight of a woman rising in one of his meetings brings forth a torrent of vulgar abuse, and an incitement to brutal ejection? Will your soft-spoken friend, Sir Edward Grey, keep faith? He has broken faith with the weak before now. They all hold you Liberal women weak, because you support them through thick and thin, heedless of your own dignity, and of the honour of Liberalism. They are ruled by their own convenience, and they yield to fear. Hence Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Edward Carson can invite to bloodshed and go scot free. Show them you are made of better and more formidable stuff than ordinary partisans. Come out, to be better Liberals.

THE DUBLIN PRISONERS—GRAVE NEWS

Special Campaign Throughout the Country to Demand Release

"This practice [forcible feeding] consists of a severe physical and mental torture."—From the Report by Dr. Agnes Savill, Mr. Mansell Moullin, and Sir Victor Horsley.

The news from Dublin concerning the two women—Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans—condemned to penal servitude for five years, and now in Mountjoy Prison, is of the gravest, and we fear that the condition of their health is indeed most serious. As will be seen from Miss Roe's letter, which follows, there is reason to believe that the Government and the Dublin authorities contemplate the removal of Mrs. Leigh to a criminal lunatic asylum.

Dear Miss Barrett,—I had an interview with the Lord Lieutenant on Sunday, August 25. He told me that the authorities here have a horror of forcible feeding, and that it is Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George who are responsible for Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans being forcibly fed. Lord Aberdeen has himself been to London to see Mr. Asquith, but with no result. This has been confirmed in an interview I had on Thursday, August 29, with Sir James Dougherty, secretary to Mr. Birrell. He says that Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans will not be let out under any circumstances. So far as I can judge they are prepared to let them die rather than release them.

The worst part of all is this, that every time I have had an interview with Sir James Dougherty, he has told me that he thinks Mrs. Leigh must be mad, and he has now given me to understand that she may be put in a lunatic asylum. Do you not think that immediate steps should be taken in the matter?

I do not know what Sir James Dougherty means when he says of Mrs. Leigh that "the woman must be mad." He knows that Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans have not been offered full political treatment, and that their attitude is that of protest against the outrageous sentences they have received.

The way in which Sir James Dougherty harps on this suggestion of madness makes me feel that the way is being paved to put her in an asylum. They probably think that it will be harder for us to get her released from a criminal lunatic asylum than from an ordinary prison. Such a wicked scheme seems incredible in these days, but either the Government are going to put her into an asylum under false pretences, or else it is really true that forcible feeding is affecting her mind. In either case, it is very serious, and we must try to get her out of their control at once, or something terrible and tragic will happen.—Yours sincerely, GRACE ROE.

The prisoners, as a result of their eight days' hunger-strike and of forcible feeding, have been reduced to such a state of collapse that there is no satisfactory way of dealing with the situation but to release them immediately. To rouse the public to demand their release is therefore the object of a special campaign, of which particulars follow.

GREAT PROTEST MEETING IN PHOENIX PARK, DUBLIN

A great meeting to demand the release of the prisoners is being organised in Phoenix Park, Dublin, to take place on Sunday next, September 8, at 3 p.m. There will be three platforms, and among the speakers will be Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Miss Georgina Brackenbury, Miss Kathleen Jarvis, Miss Geraldine Lennox, and others. The meeting will be preceded by a parade, with band and banners, through the city. Volunteers are urgently asked to communicate with Miss Grace Roe, c/o Mrs. Earl, 39, Raglan Road, Pembroke, Dublin.

SPECIAL CAMPAIGN IN ENGLAND

So urgent is the matter that the W.S.P.U. has decided to hold a special open-air campaign throughout the country. The local W.S.P.U.'s have once more risen splendidly to the occasion, and are organising meetings at which the release of the prisoners will be demanded. Miss Roe's letter, which is being reprinted as a leaflet, will be distributed, and copies should be obtained for the purpose at once, from the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, London, W.C.

Miss Garrett is in charge of the campaign in London; street-corner meetings will be held in central London; and every Sunday, beginning on September 8, a meeting will be held in Hyde Park with the same object at 3.30. Next Sunday the speakers will include Miss Barbara Wylie and Miss Gwen Richard. Volunteers for the various departments—chairing, chalking, &c.—are urgently asked to communicate at once with Miss Garrett, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn. The Union calls upon its members everywhere

to throw their energies earnestly into the most urgent need of the moment—the release, before it is too late, of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans.

MEMORIAL FROM SHOP ASSISTANTS

A memorial, signed by 253 employees at Messrs. Selfridge's, Oxford Street, has been sent to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to the following effect:—

"My Lord,—We, the undersigned employees in the firm of Selfridge, Ltd., being fellow workers with Gladys Evans, who was sentenced to five years' penal servitude at the Commission Court, Dublin, on August 7, 1912, do hereby respectfully urge upon you that a remission of the sentence be granted. We would plead that the fact that the offence for which the prisoner was convicted was her first offence against the law, and further that her high character, to which we can all testify, are powerful arguments why such remission should be granted.

"We would further urge upon you that as the offence for which she was convicted was committed with no criminal intent, but from a political motive, namely as part of an agitation to obtain the enfranchisement of women, you will order that while in prison she shall be treated as a first-class misdemeanant."

THE PRESS

An Irish paper, the *Irish Freedom*, challenges the honour of the newspapers, and truly says that if the treatment of these women is known to them, they are guilty of a crime in not bringing it to the notice of the public. That is so, and we are glad to see that the *Standard* ("Woman's Platform"), *Manchester Guardian*, and *Daily Herald* ("Women and Citizenship") have printed Miss Roe's letter in full. The *Times*, after quoting an extract, said on Tuesday last:—

"Our Dublin Correspondent telegraphs: 'So far as the Women's Social and Political Union suggests that there is any weakening in the attitude of the Irish Government towards the two Englishwomen now in Mountjoy Prison, I believe the statement to be misleading and inaccurate.' I have reason to believe that Sir James Dougherty gave Miss Roe, when she saw him, absolutely no hope of the early release of these prisoners or of any mitigation of the ordinary prison treatment to which they are now subject. It is probable that a statement dealing with Miss Roe's interviews in Dublin and explaining the Government's attitude will be issued immediately from Dublin Castle."

The Official Statement

The following appeared in the *Times* on Wednesday. We reserve comment until next week:

"An official statement was issued yesterday from Dublin Castle with reference to a letter in which various statements and opinions regarding the imprisoned suffragists are attributed to the Lord Lieutenant and others. The official statement is as follows:—'The contents of the letter signed by Miss Grace Roe, which appeared in the *Irish Times* of to-day, are wholly inaccurate and misleading.' As stated in the *Times* of yesterday, Miss Roe's letter, which was addressed to the Women's Social and Political Union, said that the Dublin authorities had a horror of forcible feeding, for which Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George were responsible."

LETTER TO I.W.F.L.

The following letter (says the *Morning Post*) has been addressed to the hon. secretary of the Irish Women's Franchise League by Sir J. B. Dougherty, Under Secretary for Ireland:—

"Dublin Castle, Sept. 3, 1912.
"Madam,—I am directed by the Lord Lieutenant to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated August 31, containing a further list of signatures to the memorial already submitted to his Excellency on behalf of the prisoners, Gladys Evans and Mary Leigh. I am to repeat that in the opinion of his Excellency's legal advisers the Lord Lieutenant has no power to direct that persons sentenced after conviction to penal servitude should be treated as persons undergoing a sentence of ordinary imprisonment. Your statement that such a power has been exercised by his Excellency on previous occasions is incorrect. I am also to state that the prison authorities, with the sanction of his Excellency, have offered these prisoners privileges which are not allowed to ordinary convicts. Inter alia they may wear their own clothes, remain in association apart from other convicts, and obtain food other than the ordinary prison fare. These concessions the prisoners refuse to accept. It is much to be regretted that by deliberately starving themselves they have forced the prison authorities to have recourse to the system of artificial feeding. This was resorted to reluctantly when the prisoners had refused all food and drink for several days, and when, in the opinion of an independent medical authority called into consultation, it had become absolutely necessary to give nourishment to the prisoners in order to maintain their strength and

save their lives. It is unnecessary to point out that the prisoners have it in their power at any moment to relieve themselves from any inconvenience to which they may be subjected, and the medical officers of the prison from a disagreeable duty. Should the prisoners continue to refuse food the only alternatives to artificial feeding appear to be to allow the prisoners to die of starvation or to order their immediate release. The former alternative the prison authorities are taking the only possible means to guard against. The immediate release of the prisoners, which the memorialists do not ask for, his Excellency cannot grant. Persons convicted and committed to prison in due course of law cannot be permitted simply by refusing to take food practically to fix the term of their imprisonment. It may be true that in perpetrating the outrages of which they have been found guilty these prisoners were not animated by the motives of the ordinary criminal. It is not less true, to use the language of the learned Judge who tried the case, that 'whatever be the motive of those who perpetrate a crime, crime is crime, and the public are entitled to the protection of the law.'—I am, madam, your obedient servant,"

"J. B. DOUGHERTY."

THE HATCHET CHARGE

The London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* (September 3) writes:—

"I hear that nothing more will be heard of the incident of the throwing of the hatchet at the Prime Minister's carriage in Dublin on July 18. Mary Leigh, the militant suffragist charged with the offence, is at present in Mountjoy Gaol, undergoing five years' penal servitude for her attempt to burn the Theatre Royal on the same occasion, and if she were convicted on the charge of throwing the hatchet any further imprisonment would undoubtedly be made to run concurrently with her present term. At present the trial stands postponed, but at the next Commission in Green Street the Attorney-General will enter a nolle prosequi when the case is called. The hatchet itself, which has been in the custody of the police since the incident, is claimed by Mrs. Asquith as a memento of the visit to Dublin, and will be sent to her in due course. It still remains a mystery how it was that the person who threw the hatchet was not arrested on the spot, as there were six policemen in plain clothes walking with the carriage at the time, and a civilian closed with the woman promptly. Yet not only was she not arrested, but not one of the policemen was able to identify her afterwards."

THE LORD LIEUTENANT APPROACHED

The Dublin Horse Show on August 28, say the *Manchester Guardian's* Dublin correspondent, was honoured with a state visit from the Lord Lieutenant in the afternoon. "Lord Aberdeen, who was accompanied by the Countess, was escorted by a detachment of Lancers, who lined up as a guard of honour when their Excellencies alighted in front of the grand stand. At this point a young 'suffragette' addressed the Lord Lieutenant. Speaking in a loud voice she asked: 'Lord Aberdeen, are you aware that there are women in Mountjoy Prison being forcibly fed?' A superintendent of police, who was close at hand, interfered at once, and moved the young woman away. A constable then conducted her out of the ground. Lord Aberdeen did not take much notice of the incident, merely making a deprecatory gesture."

LETTERS ON FORCIBLE FEEDING

The following letter appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* on Thursday in last week:

"Dear Sir,—Mrs. Leigh is being done to death, surely but not slowly, by torture in Mountjoy Prison. This may afford satisfaction to those who have devoted themselves to exciting prejudice and hatred against Suffragists, but it will probably startle the general public, and possibly even Judge Madden, who hardly intended to pass a death sentence for burning a hole in a theatre carpet."

"Forcible feeding by means of a nasal tube—at best, a risky operation, even when performed under hospital conditions—is literally torture when performed on a strenuously resisting patient under the rough-and-ready conditions of a prison, where adequate hospital equipment is absolutely lacking. When initiated in England it was condemned by 117 of the most distinguished medical men in Great Britain as attended by immediate risk to life, as well as permanent injury to health and what is most serious—to brain. It is not long since a healthy, athletic man was driven insane, in Pentonville Prison, by being forcibly fed, for a week. And even where the worst results do not present themselves immediately, the ultimate consequences are of the gravest character. For a full statement of the medical view on the subject I refer your readers to the current issue of the *Lancet*."

"This torture is now being inflicted on Mary Leigh and Gladys Evans in Mountjoy Prison. It is inflicted on them because they maintain their right to full political treatment in prison. It appears reasonably probable—to put it no more strongly—that the result will be to kill Mrs. Leigh, and to shatter for life the constitution of Miss Evans, the less weakly of the two prisoners. Does the Irish public approve of prison torture?"

"F. SHEEHY-SKEFFINGTON."

"11, Grosvenor Place, Rathmines."

To the Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*.

Sir,—That the conditions described in the recently published medical report on forcible feeding, to which Sir Victor Horsley is a signatory, still subsist makes a Liberal blush for his party. Utterly misguided as we believe the militants to be, and the worst friends of their own cause, they are women still—women fighting with weapons of despair—and Liberals cannot afford to stultify their own traditions and ignore the claim that the misdemeanour is a political one and entitled to treatment as such.

It is too late to pretend in 1912 that such brutal methods, however glossed in official reports, are deterrent, and the premature release in batches of these women, physically injured at men's hands in a cause instinctively felt by a majority of the party and by many outside to be just, is demonstration of their utter failure. It requires the stimulus of an aroused public opinion to force the official hand.—Yours, &c., HOWARD SPENCE, Eskdale, Harborough Road, Ashton-on-Mersey.

A COMMENT

Apart altogether from the question of woman's right to the franchise—and up to the present there is no sane argument against their right—and apart from the opinion which different people may hold as to the severity or otherwise of the sentence passed on the Suffragists who followed the English Prime Minister to Dublin, there can be but one feeling amongst those who value principle, and that one of admiration for the uncompromising and heroic attitude of these women all during their trial and imprisonment.

The two women now carrying on the hunger strike in Mountjoy—Mrs. Mary Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans—are being done to death. If the Press is aware of the treatment which these women are receiving in Mountjoy Prison it is guilty of a crime in not bringing it to the notice of the public. Ever the most bitter of those who disgraced the name of Dublin by their attacks on Suffragists, and suspected Suffragists, if they knew how these women were being treated, could not but admire them for their sacrifices. England is at her old game of trying to coerce or cajole these prisoners into making a confession of sorrow for their acts and giving an undertaking to abandon the cause of woman's suffrage. Deputation after deputation has waited on these women, and all the influence of Dublin Castle has been tried to get them to compromise or barter their principles. The stupidity, as well as the barbarity, is characteristic of England's treatment of political prisoners in supposing that any form of bribe any more than the most cruel tortures can turn from her resolve one of such character as Mrs. Leigh.—*Irish Freedom*.

MRS. BAINES

The serious view of Mrs. Baines's health expressed in last week's paper was, we find, by no means exaggerated. On arriving from Ireland she had to be carried from the boat, and she is still too weak even to be moved from her home to the seaside.

LEGAL DEFENCE FUND

At the present time, when the uncertainty regarding the prisoners in Dublin is causing so much grave anxiety, we are much touched by the many kindly letters received, not only from members of the W.S.P.U., but also from those outside our ranks, who wish to show their practical sympathy and their appreciation of the heroic struggle being made by the prisoners for recognition as political offenders. Further subscriptions will be gladly received by the Hon. Treasurer of the Fund, Miss Goodliffe, 62, High Street, Hampstead, N.W.

Already acknowledged, £116 5s. 6d.; Miss Minnie Evans, £1 1s.; Miss Alice Farmer, 5s.; Miss S. A. Turle, £10; Fiat Justitia, 5s.; Miss Vera Loughton, 2s. 6d.; Miss Mary Floyd, £1; Mrs. Hartley Withers, £1 1s.; Mrs. Mary Powell, 6s.; L. A. W., 5s.; "A Dublin Woman, for our dear Martyrs," 3s.; Miss Edith Waltham, 5s.; Mrs. K. C. Leah, £1; "A Dwyrhyfychi Holiday Collection," £1 8s. 6d.; Mrs. O. Cock, 5s.; Mrs. Leah Joseph, 10s. 6d.; A Fellow Prisoner, 3s. 6d.; Miss Cynthia Massy, 5s.; Miss Beatrice Pollit, 10s.; Miss E. Blake, 2s.; Mrs. Patricia Shaw, 5s.; Miss E. Norbury, 5s.; Miss Katie Harris, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. E. Thomas, 10s.; Miss A. L. Langham, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. B. Cairns, 2s. Total, £141 8s. 6d.

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**A STAFFORDSHIRE NOVEL AND OTHER
REVIEWS**

Mrs. Garnett's new novel* has a strong and somewhat unusual atmosphere. She has not merely placed her story and her characters in the desolate grey district of North Staffordshire; she has made them part of it, so that, on laying down "Amor Vincit,"* one is conscious of having for a while shared the lives of a set of countryfolk who could have been born nowhere else, who are as much the product of "a country desolate rather than beautiful; wild without grandeur; hilly without charm," as Thomas Hardy's peasantry are the product of the Dorset Great Heath. The result of this choice of environment is seen in the story that Mrs. Garnett has woven round her collection of Staffordshire people. It is a story of broken purposes and disappointed hopes, a story of failure, both human and material, a story in which love is a consuming passion closely akin to hate, and revenge is stronger than either.

The prologue strikes the note of the book. In it we meet the two whose sane and calm affection for each other, at the end of many years of storm and stress, lightens the almost unrelieved gloom of the story, and is the sole justification for its title. The scene in which Richard Hollinsclough, a boy of fifteen, takes a bad beating at the hands of a bullying elder brother for daring to protect Ellen Brindley, the little daughter of a neighbouring farmer, is one that implants in the boy that fierce sense of injustice that colours his whole life, and in the girl a devotion for her rescuer that never dies. The story moves slowly, and is rather long, but it is rarely dull. Richard himself, a queer compound of sullen revolt and gentle indecision, is admirably drawn throughout, as characteristic in his obstinate courtship of his first wife, who never even pretends to love him, as in his jealous affection for the dog he shoots rather than be a witness to its preference for his enemy, Jack Beresford. That first wife of his, as shallow and insensitive as Ellen is profound and enduring in her affection, is well sketched, too; so is her lover, Beresford, who brings out all the gloom and hatred of which Richard is capable, and to which the desolate, uncharming landscape forms such an inevitable background. There is no peace in the book, no indication of simple human feeling, until Jack Beresford has been done to death by the old woman Hannah, who hates him—he is the son of her former lover—as much as she loves her nursing, Richard, and in the same undisciplined manner. The murder is not brought home to her, and Richard, having been cleared of all suspicion of it by the coroner at the inquest, finally marries the woman who has loved him all through, at first because he protected her, afterwards because he needs her protection so much more. It would be easy to dismiss this dénouement with the criticism that Ellen is far too good to spend the rest of her days in patching up the broken life of a man who has come to ruin through his own unbridled passions; but it would be a hasty judgment, for Mrs. Garnett has drawn her hero subtly enough to make us see that he never had a chance till Ellen saw the good in him, and made it her business to bring it out. The book would be quite inhuman but for that fine touch of human understanding at the end of it.

THE CHILDREN'S MOTHERS

Two most important booklets,† professedly dealing with the subject of the care and needs of children, are really almost wholly devoted to the subject of the urgency for attention to the crying needs of those children's mothers. That the sole way effectively to ameliorate the lot of the infants is to go to the root of the matter and ameliorate the lot of the mothers might, in fact, be taken as the text of both these pamphlets. And they are written by experts who have deeply studied the whole problem.

"Whose Children are These?" is concerned with the subject of the maintenance of illegitimate children, and shows how horribly unjust the existing Law of Maintenance is upon the unfortunate mother; how practically impossible it is for the mother to enforce her claim, even when the Court awards it; how easily the father can evade ever paying one penny of the sum adjudicated.

The other pamphlet deals with the physical condition of infants, and demonstrates the necessity, if children are to be healthy, of their mothers receiving proper food and treatment before, during, and for many months after child-birth.

THE DIVORCE LAW

According to Mr. Bremner, England holds the dishonourable position of being, with the exception of Greece, the only great nation to admit the double standard of morality in her divorce law. Fortunately that law has been considerably assailed of late years, and much is being done to point out how it is connected with the subjection of women. In this little book† we are given a clear and concise account of the marriage and divorce law right back to the early days of our history. The book makes interesting and instructive reading, which speakers will find extremely helpful, particularly as the facts demonstrate clearly how the law has been founded on the theory that woman exists primarily for man, with the resultant inequality of the law touching their marriage relations.

K. D. S.

* "Amor Vincit." By Mrs. R. S. Garnett. (Duckworth & Co. 6s.)
† "Whose Children are These?" By Ethel M. Nash. (Cornish Brothers, Limited, Birmingham. 2d.) "The Needs of Little Children: Report of a Conference in the Care of Babies and Young Children." By Miss Margaret McMillan, Mrs. Pember Reeves, Dr. Ethel Bentham, Mrs. Despard. (Women's Labour League. 2d.)
† "Divorce and Morality." By G. S. Bremner. With preface by Sir A. Conan Doyle. (London: Frank Palmer. 1s. net.)

THE SHOP ASSISTANT

The bitter cry of the shop assistant finds stirring expression in "Shop Slavery and Emancipation," by William Paine (P. S. King and Son, one shilling net). In an introductory note Mr. H. G. Wells recalls his own seventeen-mile tramp one Sunday morning when, at fifteen, he ran away to his mother and told her he would rather die than go on being a draper. The whole book is of exceeding interest, and the chapter entitled "The Way Out" can hardly be read without a reminder of Walt Whitman.

"L'AFFAIRE STEINHEIL"

A terrible story is that which Mme. Steinheil lays before us in "My Memoirs." (Everleigh Nash. 10s. 6d. net.) The happy girl of Belfort became the leader of a section of Paris society, and found herself in the prime of her life committed for trial on a charge of murdering her husband and her mother. For a year she was kept in prison awaiting trial, while France rang with various versions of *L'affaire Steinheil*. On her acquittal she made her residence in England, and here she wrote this book, which is concerned chiefly with the tragedy of her life. If her account of her prison life is correct, some Suffragettes are needed in Paris to improve the conditions. She describes the prison as decaying and foul-smelling, devoid of light and air, full of vermin, damp, and dirt.

THE INSURANCE ACT

Whether as "Resisters" or otherwise, women will do well to make themselves familiar with the National Health Insurance Act, and Mr. J. T. Richards' little pink paper book ("National Health Insurance." William Pull and Co., Clapham Junction) is certainly worth 2d., even though Government pamphlets explaining the Act are obtainable free. Mr. Richards' regret that he is "not a lawyer" will probably not be shared by his lay readers. In any future edition, however, the Note on p. 2 (relating to casual employment and payment of insurance by one of several employers) should be amplified.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Inheritance." By Stuart Martin. (London: John Ouseley, Ltd. Price 6s.)
"The Religious Aspect of the Women's Movement." Report of Meeting Held at Queen's Hall on June 19. (London: The Collegium. Price 6d.)
"Modern Woman: Her Intentions." By Florence Farr. (London: Frank Palmer. Price 1s. net.)
"The Maggie." September. (London: Everett and Co. Price 3d. net.)
"Prostitution: Its Nature and Cure." (London: Penal Reform League. Price 2d.)
"Life Understood." By F. L. Rawson. (London: The Crystal Press, Ltd. Price 7s. 6d. net.)
"The Twentieth Century Magazine." September. (Boston: Twentieth Century Co. Price 15 cents.)
"Five Songs." By I. Hearne. (London: Schott and Co. Price 3s. net.)
"The Westminster Review." September. (London: E. Marlborough and Co. Price 2s. 6d. net.)
"The English Review." September. (London: 17-21, Tavistock Street, Covent Garden. Price 1s. net.)
"Make Way for the Prime Minister." By Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett. (Eastbourne: T. R. Beckett, Ltd. Price 1d.)
"The Englishwoman." September. (London: Sedgwick and Jackson. Price 1s. net.)

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THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10, at 8 p.m.

On 19th September at 8.30 p.m.

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FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1912.

IN DEFENCE OF MILITANCY

The case for militancy, like the case for Woman Suffrage itself, has to be argued over and over again, for the objections to it often destroyed are as often repeated. Just now a fire of criticism is being directed against militant methods which would be better directed against the Government's reactionary and treacherous dealings with the question of Votes for Women.

Perhaps the most curious, and we may even say amusing, argument ever advanced against militancy is to be found in the statement that the "excesses" of the French Revolution deferred Parliamentary reform in Great Britain. Supposing this to be true, it is a circumstance which is quite beside the mark. If we want to discover whether the French Revolution provides an argument for or against militancy as a political weapon we must ask ourselves what effect that Revolution produced, not in Great Britain, where it did not take place, but in France, where it did.

Now whatever fault may be found with the French Revolution, no one can deny that it was marvellously effective. Incidentally, it secured Manhood Suffrage, which the men of this country with their milder militancy did not get some thirty years later. How many events more epoch-making, as the saying goes, have ever occurred in the history of the world? The establishment of Manhood Suffrage was only one of the results of the French Revolution. Considering the transformation wrought in France by the Revolution, it is idle to attempt to deter militants from their militancy by telling them that it had some contrary effect in another country.

It cannot be denied that if a like Revolution had taken place in this country, a transformation on a corresponding scale must have been effected here. Universal Suffrage for men would no doubt have been achieved, and with it many other changes very alarming and distasteful to the ruling classes of that day.

To those of us (and we may claim to be the majority) who have always believed that the Reform Bill of 1832 was the fruit of militant methods, the statement that it was the fruit of mere peaceful persuasion comes with a positive shock. It sends us back to our history books for confirmation of our view. Especially do we have recourse to the testimony of Lord John Russell, the father of the Reform Bill. He tells us that Lord Grey's reason for consenting to the introduction of the Bill was that only by that means could a revolution be averted. It has been said that all the members of Lord Grey's Government were, with the exception of Lord John Russell himself, anti-reformers at heart, but because of the popular unrest, they became the advocates of Reform.

Lord John Russell's account of the matter is as follows:—

"The Cabinet of Earl Grey contained very few men who had supported proposals for Parliamentary reform. Lord Palmerston and Lord Grant had, with Lord Melbourne, followed Mr. Canning in his opposition to Parliamentary reform, and Lord Lansdowne and Lord Holland had never been very eager on the subject, but the circumstances of the country required decisive measures, and Lord Grey was persuaded that nothing but a large reform of Parliament would ward off revolution. In this opinion the Cabinet participated, and adopted our plan."

Referring to the situation created by the Lords' rejection of the Bill, Lord John Russell says:—

"Nine years ago I had said that if Reform were not allowed to follow its course with the majesty of a river, it would rush on with the madness of a torrent. I had been laughed at by my Tory friends for the phrase, but they and others were now carried away by that torrent, the approach of which they had so little foreseen. This was indeed a moment of peril. It was the only time during my political life in which I have felt uneasy as to the result."

This plain statement of fact sweeps away the fanciful theory that militancy hindered the passage of the Reform Bill whose enactment was, as Lord John Russell has recorded, the result of militancy. Those people who, while the struggle for the Reform Bill was in progress, busied themselves in deploring the militant methods so soon to triumph, were wrong, as contemporary observers so often are.

Another objection in use just now is that militancy "cuts at the very root of the argument that physical force is not the ultimate resort by which to induce a Government to act." We would point out that there is some slipshod thinking here—a confusion of what actually is with what ought to be but is not yet. Militant Suffragists believe that moral and not physical force ought to be the basis of Government. Mr. Asquith and the Liberal Cabinet think otherwise, and they prefer to rule women by brute force. For that is precisely what the denial of the Vote means. Let any woman who doubts it take the slightest effective action to vindicate her claim to citizenship (for example, ask a question at a Cabinet Minister's meeting, or call upon the Prime Minister at Downing Street), and brute force will at once be employed against her.

Since it is physical force that Suffragists have to overcome, they, like all other revolutionaries, have found it necessary to employ a certain degree of physical force themselves. They would infinitely have preferred to use only moral force, but in this duel between women and the Government, it is the Government who have the choice of weapons, and they have chosen the weapon of physical and not moral force. Women have had to abide by that choice, and to wield as best they can this weapon that they like so little. It may seem to the unthinking that in such a conflict women must be worsted, but ever since David there have been times when the weak have been made strong to conquer.

Who takes the sword shall perish by the sword, and it is one of the greatest of moral fallacies to urge that no challenge must be offered to a forcible domination such as the Government of this country exercises over women. No one ever knew so well as Joan of Arc, that greatest of all militants, how to slay a moral fallacy, and she has slain this one. We have quoted her before, but we will do it again because the message she has left to us should be always in our mind.

She was questioned by ecclesiastics as to her mission before she was allowed to enter upon its performance.

"You assert that God has willed to deliver France from the English bondage?"

"Yes, He has willed it."

"You wish for men-at-arms so that you may go to the relief of Orleans, I believe?"

"Yes—and the sooner the better."

"God is all powerful and able to do whatsoever He will so do, is it not so?"

"Most surely. None doubts it."

"Then answer me this. If He has willed to deliver France, and is able to do whatsoever He wills, where is the need for men-at-arms?"

"He helps those who help themselves. The sons of France will fight the battles, but He will give the victory."

Have the critics of present day militancy any answer to make to Joan of Arc? If they cannot prove her wrong, neither can they prove the militant Suffragists wrong.

P.W.W. AND THE W.S.P.U.—A COMMENT

Under the heading of "Militancy and the Reform Bill," Mr. P. W. Wilson, Parliamentary correspondent of the *Daily News and Leader*, and an ex-Liberal M.P., discusses in the *Englishwoman* the situation of the Votes for Women cause.

After trying to defend the action of those Liberals who have for years past resisted the enactment of a special sex disability removal bill, and have thereby brought the present Manhood Suffrage peril upon us, Mr. Wilson comes to the heart of his subject as follows:—

I can imagine Mrs. Pankhurst saying, "What guarantee have you that the amendments to your Reform Bill will succeed?" My reply is that in the whole course of history it has never been possible for any individual, be he powerful or be he humble, to guarantee the wisdom whether of nations or of Parliaments. Statesmanship consists in producing the conditions, social, moral, and mental, in which wisdom can best thrive. Assuming, as we may do, that the amendments will be considered not earlier than December, and most probably at the outset of the New Year, it is absurd to waste our energies upon arguments as to probabilities which time alone can determine. The one critical controversy is concerned with militancy, whether it can be suspended, and, if so, whether suspension would be wise.

This whole passage shows that Mr. Wilson speaks, as it were, a different political language from the W.S.P.U. "The personal opinion of a Liberal politician" is Mr. Wilson's description of his article. We could easily have mistaken it for "Bait for the Government's hook to catch guileless Suffragists."

Mr. Wilson confesses that he can point to no guarantee that a Woman Suffrage amendment will be carried, and he denies that any guarantee is possible. There he is wrong. Government support for such an amendment would guarantee its adoption. Time alone, says Mr. Wilson, can determine whether or no the women are to be included in the "Reform" Bill, but the fact is that an announcement that the Government will introduce the Woman Suffrage clause would settle the question instantaneously.

The one critical controversy, we are told, is concerned with militancy. That, again, is not true, because the continuance of militancy is an absolutely settled question. The W.S.P.U. is quite immovable on that point. If critics and counsellors would strike at the cause of militancy instead of abusing or cajoling the militants, they might hope to see some result of their endeavours. The cause of militancy is the Government's refusal to introduce and carry a measure of Votes for Women, and it is not within anyone's power to "palm off" upon the W.S.P.U. Mr. Asquith's sham pledge or any other pledge of that description as a substitute for a Government measure.

Mr. Wilson concurs in "regretting" that the Government do not comply with the W.S.P.U. demand. The sooner Liberals wipe out from their vocabulary the word "regret," the better. As soon as we find them "regretting" anything, we know that they mean meekly to swallow it. If Mr. Wilson thinks that the Government ought to introduce and carry a Woman Suffrage clause, why does he not set about compelling them to do it? It is simply a question of applying sufficient pressure. The Cabinet responsible for introducing the Reform Bill of 1832 was composed almost to a man of Anti-Reformers, but pressure compelled them to concede Reform. Pressure will compel the Liberal Government of our own day to concede votes to women. Forty or fifty men in the House of Commons could "convert" and "unite" the Government in the twinkling of an eye. How is it that Mr. Wilson, whose Parliamentary influence must be considerable, does not urge Liberal and Labour Members to the number of fifty to deliver an ultimatum and to say that their fifty votes shall be cast against the Government in Committee on the Home Rule Bill and in all other Divisions until the Government assume full and direct responsibility for enfranchising women. If the House of Commons does not contain fifty Liberal and Labour Members willing to carry out this policy, then we are forced to the conclusion that the House is just as weak, just as unreliable, and just as false in its friendship as it has shown itself during the whole forty-two years of the Parliamentary history of Woman Suffrage.

It is really the last straw to be told by Mr. Wilson that to have Votes for Women left to a "free" vote of the House of Commons is a positive advantage. We remember only too well that when in 1910 and 1911 we asked the Government to leave the House free to proceed with the Conciliation Bill, they refused to do so, and when we now find them offering to leave the House free to vote on the question, we know that they do so with sinister intent. The position is this. When the Government were asked to remove the gag and fetters from the House of Commons, they would not do it. Now we ask them to drive the House of Commons forward, and they will not do that, but accord to it an appearance of free-

dom which in reality is only a cloak for their anti-Suffragist intrigues.

Speaking of the threat that the passage of a Woman Suffrage amendment will involve the disruption of the Government, Mr. Wilson observes that it is a curious circumstance that Anti-Suffragist Ministers have not made a public statement on the subject. We think this silence the most natural thing in the world, because their Anti-Suffrage purpose is being so well achieved by means of the private communications which have been made if not by them personally, then by the Master of Elibank and others on their behalf. Says Mr. Wilson:—

It is certain that Mr. Asquith, who gave the pledge on the amendments, has no intention of evading by resignation the whole substance of it. Such an act would be unthinkable because it would be dishonest.

Simply because Mr. Asquith is reactionary and obstinate, there seems to be an impression that he must necessarily be honest. This is quite a delusion. As regards Woman Suffrage, he is not honest at all, and is, in fact, quite as dishonest as any of his ministerial colleagues. Most true it is that Mr. Asquith does not, if he can help it, intend to resign on Woman Suffrage. He believes that there are other ways of "evading the substance" of his pledge and escaping its fulfilment. Since the moment when he made his pledge, he has taken every possible opportunity of inducing the House of Commons to reject the Woman Suffrage amendments.

Another of Mr. Wilson's statements is that an unofficial amendment if carried will be "more strongly entrenched by Parliamentary custom and procedure than if it had been originally in the Bill." This we deny. Even a Woman Suffrage clause which is proposed by the Government will be attacked by Anti-Suffrage Members of the House of Lords on the ground that as it was not in the Bill when the Second Reading took place in the House of Commons, it cannot run the two years' course contemplated by the Parliament Act. If in addition to that the clause has not been added upon the initiative of the Government, this argument will be urged with all the more persistency.

If critics of militancy make reckless statements of the kind in question, how can they expect their representations to carry any weight?

Entirely at variance with fact is the suggestion that Nationalist hostility to Votes for Women is founded on militancy. That hostility was conceived in time of truce. If militancy were abandoned for ever, and if Suffragists employed all that "tact, persuasion, and flattery" which Mr. Wilson recommends as its substitute, Mr. Redmond would not budge one inch from his present attitude. We think, moreover, that he would perhaps be honest enough to say so. In accordance with his agreement with the Government, Mr. Redmond means to wreck the cause of Votes for Women. His opposition will never be overcome until he is made to realise that greater evils threaten him if women do not get the Vote than if they do.

What is it that Mr. Wilson recommends? It is that the militants shall suspend militancy "so long as the amendments are in being," which means, we suppose, so long as the amendments are not either carried or defeated. That is, of course, precisely what the Government have aimed at from the first. They knew that if they made a crude announcement of Manhood Suffrage, the militants and possibly even the "constitutionals" would be roused to instant rebellion. Therefore they made their "pledge," which they positively knew would keep the "constitutionals" quiet, and would, they hoped, keep the militants quiet also. Once the women's amendments were defeated, the obstacles which Suffragists would have to overcome would be greater than they had ever been. For half a century the Liberal leaders have had the intention of building up in the last resort a Manhood Suffrage wall against the enfranchisement of women. They have decided now to carry this scheme into effect, and the provisions of the Parliament Act they regard as a great aid to the achievement of their purpose.

The Coal Strike, Mr. Wilson seems to think, provides a warning to militants. He is quite right. It does. It provides a warning against negotiation and negotiators. The miners lost much of their victory because they consented to enter into conference with the Government. A Labour man has said, "The Government offer intervention (in strikes) only when they feel the men are likely to win a victory, and then simply with the obvious intention of cheating them." Certainly the Government are most zealous and ingenious in beating people down and buying them off at half price, at robbing those who have made a great fight of all or some of the fruits of victory. In the case of Woman Suffrage, the Government are not mediators, but combatants. Nevertheless, their mode of action is very similar. They will find, however, that just as the militants cannot be subdued by force, neither can they be outwitted by worthless pledges.



In this column we propose, during the holiday season, when VOTES FOR WOMEN touches a new circle of readers, to answer some of the questions that present themselves to the minds of those not yet convinced of the urgency of Woman Suffrage.

Question 1.—Admitting that the underpayment of women is responsible for driving many to an immoral life, how would the vote remedy this?

Answer.—The Question is really, How will the vote affect women's wages? and was answered in this column on August 23. We advise our questioner (a working man) to read "Women's Votes and Wages," by F. W. Pethick Lawrence (Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, price one penny). Mr. Lloyd George said at the Albert Hall in December, 1908, that when women had the vote, "and therefore the same right to call the Government to account as men have," it would be impossible for any Government to maintain this inequality between women's pay and men's for the same work. It must be perfectly clear that a decision of the House of Commons, acting under pressure from constituents (women as well as men), would compel the Government directly to raise the wages of its own women employees. If these were few, such a change might be considered negligible, but they number more than 50,000, and it would affect not only these, but two large classes for whom the Government has special responsibility: (1) The teachers; (2) the employees of Government contractors. When once the example is set by the Government it will form a standard for other employers.

Question 2.—But would the women voters use their influence in this direction?

Answer.—Even if only one woman were enfranchised, and that one Mrs. Humphry Ward, we think she would bring pressure to bear first of all in order to help her sweated sisters!

Question 3.—Do you expect the result of women's enfranchisement in increasing wages to be immediate?

Answer.—No, it will be gradual, and it will not be finally complete until all the artificial hindrances have been removed and the status of women has acted and reacted upon all the conditions of life. But we believe that some improvement will be seen immediately, and that it will extend throughout the whole industrial world of women.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Prisoners' Secretary

Miss Winifred Mayo, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C., will be glad to answer all enquiries with regard to prisoners.

Royal Albert Hall, London, Thursday, October 17

Members who have returned from holidays and have not yet secured their tickets for the welcome meeting at the Royal Albert Hall on Thursday, October 17, at 8 p.m., should apply to the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, at once. The Arena seats are all sold out, and only a few Amphitheatre stalls at 2s. 6d. and a few Grand Tier boxes (to hold ten) £1 10s., remain. The prices of the other tickets available are as follows:—Boxes, Loggia (to hold eight), £1 1s.; second tier (to hold five), 12s. 6d.; balcony, first six rows, 1s., two back rows, 6d., all numbered and reserved; upper orchestra, unreserved, 6d. Tickets can only be had through members.

To Demand Release of Dublin Prisoners

The attention of our readers is called to an important announcement of a demonstration to be held in Phoenix Park, Dublin, on Sunday next, to protest against the treatment of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans in Mountjoy Prison. A demonstration, with the same object, will be held in Hyde Park, London, at the same time, and meetings are being organised throughout the country. Miss Grace Roe's letter on her interview with Lord Aberdeen, which has appeared in the Press, is being issued as a leaflet, and may be had free for distribution at these meetings. Applications should be sent at once to the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C. The striking new Poster announced last week, headed "Penal Servitude or Votes," may be had on application to the Women's Social and Political Union, 4, Clement's Inn, London, W.C., at the following prices: (1) Four-crown size, 3d. each, post free; (2) double-crown size (30in by 20in), 1½d., post free.

The Christmas Fair

The Union is relying on its members to make the Christmas Fair, in connection with the opening of the new offices, a brilliant success. They have never failed yet!

THE CABINET MINISTERS' HOLIDAY

ON THE GOLF COURSE

A correspondent sends us the following account of the Prime Minister's golf at Aboyne:—

Golf courses seem rather fatal to Cabinet Ministers just now. So many militant suffragists are fond of the "royal and ancient" game that I suggest it would be wise for Ministers of the Crown who value their peace of mind to abandon their favourite pastime until women get the vote.

The papers had announced Mr. Asquith's arrival at Ballater, and most people thought he was safely enshrined as Minister in Attendance at Balmoral, but there is always a little bird to tell suffragists the truth, so we knew very soon afterwards that he had really got out at Aboyne and driven off to that quiet country house, Donside. Then Mr. Asquith tempted Providence by playing on the Aboyne Golf Course. I met him near the pavilion; it was Saturday, and rather late in the afternoon, so quite a number of people were assembled there, among them several Liberal aristocrats, who take large annual salaries out of the public purse. Just the right audience for a protest.

Mr. Asquith had finished his game, and was making for his motor; I was going in to get my clubs when we came face to face, so I said in a very loud voice, "When are you going to do your duty and give women the vote?" He shrank, turned his eyes away, as cowards do, and hurried on; but his car was standing quite near, so I thought I had better give him a few more home truths while he was being bundled into his coat. I thought of Mrs. Leigh being strapped down in prison while they fed her by force, and shouted out, "You ought to be ashamed of yourself, taking holidays, while women are being forcibly fed in prison. You should remember that you are a paid public servant, and do your duty, instead of torturing women. I am one of the public, so I have a perfect right to speak to you and reprove you if you do wrong—remember this: Votes for Women."

Mr. Asquith looked very confused indeed, and as for the rest they seemed too startled to say anything. Then we played our balls to the first hole, which Mr. Asquith had to pass on his way out, and sent him off with "Votes for Women" ringing in his ears.

X. Y. Z.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.
Dear Sir,—I think it will interest you to know that I had the chance on Sunday, September 1, of reminding Mr. Lloyd George that he had a question to attend to which he would like to forget.

On reaching Charing Cross by the Dover express, I was told that he had travelled by the same train, and immediately happened to see him standing in a group with half a dozen men, so without waiting to lose courage I went up to him. I told him I could not resist the temptation of reminding him of an urgent question. His only answer was an embarrassed attempt at a laugh. I added that I hoped he would remember what was expected of him, but with another forced laugh he passed on quickly.—Yours, &c.,

HAYDEE WARD-HIGGS.

23, Queensborough Terrace, Hyde Park, W.

CHASING THE FIRST LORD

In vain does Mr. Winston Churchill seek to fly from the pursuer by keeping to the sea! In one weak moment he came too near the shore—and

"As we came up the river from Tyne-mouth to Jarrow (writes a correspondent), we had a good go at him with the megaphone. We got quite close to the yacht, so I think he would leave the Tyne knowing Votes for Women is still very much alive."

The *Shields Gazette* throws further light on the affair. It says:

"The 'Enchantress,' which is by no means a stranger to this part, did not take up her customary berth off the New Quay Pier, which is recognised as the berthing place for Admiralty yachts. This departure caused a good deal of disappointment and surprise, a large number of spectators having gathered on the New Quay, North Shields, in anticipation of witnessing the landing of the First Lord. In order to prevent any visits from intruders a number of bluejackets were stationed in a small boat lying alongside the 'Enchantress.'"

"Suffragists were about and doing. They had been waiting for the arrival of the First Lord, and a good deal of interest was centred in their movements. They had engaged three small boats, and, laden with suffragists, these craft had been hovering about off the Mill Dam since the early hours of the morning awaiting the arrival of Mr. Churchill. On the approach of the 'Enchantress' there was a regular hullabaloo with megaphones, and for some minutes the noise was deafening."

Then comes a description of a pressman's difficulties in approaching Mr. Churchill, and how he got safely past a sentry, and it appears that the pressman referred to the proposed "welcome" by suffragists. "We have not seen anything of the suffragists yet," said one of the officers. The account proceeds:

"The yacht was escorted by two launches belonging to the Harbour Master's department, the North Shields launch with Captain Frith, the Harbour Master on board, preceding it."

"It was anticipated that the suffragists might make an endeavour to take advantage of the occasion, and the Swing Bridge was consequently well guarded by police. The bridge itself was cleared of the general public, of whom a large number had assembled, and opened for the passage of the yacht, although the latter could easily have passed underneath. This precaution was, doubtless taken to prevent anything being thrown from above. Two suffragist ladies, who had been astir early, eventually took up their position on board the Aberdeen passenger boat, which was lying at the quay close to the Swing Bridge. The women in question, however, were recognised, and a police sergeant promptly made his way on board the steamer and kept in close attendance. As the yacht was passing the Aberdeen boat the two women in question rushed to the rails and 'Votes for Women' was wafted across the water."

Press Accounts

The *Evening Chronicle* (August 28) says:—

Amongst the Jarrow residents to welcome the First Lord was Mrs. Crowe, a leading local suffragist. In order to draw near to the Enchantress, Mrs. Crowe had hired a row-boat, and armed with the flag of the Women's Social and Political Union, and a powerful megaphone, she reached the side of the Enchantress just as the First Lord was stepping from the yacht into the launch. Mrs. Crowe, using the megaphone, addressed Mr. Churchill, and asked him how he dared to put the women of England into prison. No response was made by the First Lord, who, as he took his seat in the launch, smiled pleasantly on Mrs. Crowe, who, seeing this, told him that the condition of the women of England was not a laughing matter.

Other local papers gave similar accounts, and the *Evening Chronicle* added:—

Just before Mr. Churchill came back to Palmer's from Elswick Mrs. Crowe was again rowed to the vicinity of the landing stage in a sculler boat, which, however, was towed away by order of the management.

MR. CHURCHILL AT ROSYTH

A correspondent sends us the following account of how Mr. Churchill was caught also when he came on shore:—

"No passes to the Dockyard at Rosyth are, we learnt, being granted at present, and as there are no motor-boats or launches to be hired at any of the ports here, we made up our minds that the only way was to approach Mr. Churchill on land. Two women and a member of the Men's League went off to Queensferry to lie in wait for him as he disembarked. It was a long wait, many launches came up to the little jetty and steamed away, but the right one came along at last, and Mr. Churchill and another gentleman landed. One of the women walked quietly up to him, and said in a loud voice, 'Mr. Churchill, I am a member of the Women's Social and Political Union, and we, the women of that Union, demand a Government Measure for Woman Suffrage this Session.'"

"He looked at her in a very annoyed manner, and said, 'No! I won't do anything for you!' and then walked rapidly away."

"The meeting was watched by an interested crowd, including the police, who made no attempt to interfere in this conversation."

"Two hours later, when he came back in a hired taxi, he was again saluted by a woman who reminded him of his refusal to help, and asked if this refusal was a challenge, and the Men's League man cried, 'Wasn't Dublin enough?' Mr. Churchill was evidently under the impression that the Dublin incident was going to be repeated, for he shrank back into the taxi, and his companion rose in obvious consternation to protect the badgered Minister from the supposed missile. Mr. Churchill was evidently hoping to avoid further attentions by travelling in a hired taxicab."

Secrecy—Why?

The local Press bewails the impossibility of making out a programme of Mr. Churchill's visit. The *Newcastle Chronicle* says:—

Particulars of his intended movements in the two days' sojourn among us were known only to very few people. Even at the shipyards he is to visit very little seemed to have been communicated by the Admiralty to assist the several firms to complete programmes for the entertainment of the First Lord. The reason of official reticence in making public the times of Mr. Churchill's arrival and departure, and how he proposes spending his time while on Tyneside, may be accounted for in a way that will occur to everybody. Members of the Government are subjected to the attentions of the militant suffragists wherever they may be, and thus the idea may be to keep the First Lord's present visit as private as possible.

The *Evening Mail* says:—
Indeed, the movements of the First Lord of the Admiralty seem to be wrapped completely in mystery, whether, as has been suggested, in order to avoid the

militant suffragettes or not, it is difficult to state.

Painting a Battleship with "Votes for Women"

The following letter appeared in the *Evening Chronicle*:—

Sir,—In passing up the Tyne to-day I noticed that "Votes for Women" had been twice chalked on the bows of the new battleship, "Queen Mary," now under construction at Palmer's Yard. Surely the suffragists have not got on board a battleship for the purpose of advertising their craze.—Yours, &c.,

C. BOHLEN.

16, Windsor Terrace, Whitley Bay.

WHO DID IT?

In last week's paper we referred to the writing on the gate of Lord Haldane's residence, Cloan House, Perthshire.

The *Aberdeen Free Press* says:—

"So far no clue has been obtained which may lead to the capture of the bill-posting Suffragist; but it is stated that a lady answering to the description of the redoubtable Miss Christabel has been seen in the neighbourhood lately."

"The party, believed to be Miss Pankhurst, entered a stationer's shop in the town, and purchased the necessary paint, paste, and paper to execute the work on the poster; but, since the message to Lord Haldane was stuck up, nothing has been seen of her either in the town or in the district."

DEPUTATION TO MR. BORDEN

Mr. Borden, the Prime Minister of Canada, has just undergone that most distressing of experiences in the life of a professional politician. He has been interviewed by a deputation which was in real earnest about its subject. That is comparatively rare in political life; and that is the reason it is such an unpleasant and arduous affair when it does come to one of these rare moments. Nothing is more embarrassing to the politician than the presence of people who are in earnest. The only worse thing that can happen is when he has also to face people who will not be put off by the pretty conjuring tricks which deceive the eyes and brains of most of the Simple Simons who carry petitions and go in deputations to Cabinet Ministers.

But Mr. Borden had to do with people who have specialised in the pretty tricks of Cabinet Ministers. The Women's Social and Political Union has, I am told, many faults. It has certainly one very commendable virtue: It attaches as much value to the word of a politician as it would to the heart of an over-ripe pear with a brown skin. The only necessary comment on that statement is that, if the right honourable gentleman has not yet made up his mind whether Woman's Suffrage is one of those interests, then he had better return to school.—G.R.S.T. in the "Daily Herald."

Mr. Borden's reply should be of considerable interest, for it may influence some of the sister States where Women's Suffrage is becoming militant. It is sincerely to be trusted that he will have his dialectical defences in perfect order, for the leaders of the Cause are potent with tongue as well as with hammer and hatchet.—The Western Mail.

W.S.P.U. ANSWER TO MRS. FAWCETT

Further correspondence has taken place in the *Manchester Guardian* since our issue of last week between Mrs. Fawcett and Miss Annie Kenney. On August 27 Mrs. Fawcett wrote that her opinion with regard to the defeat of the Conciliation Bill in March, 1912, was that "six years of militancy, culminating in the window smashing raids on March 1 and 4, had their share in bringing about this defeat," and that the intense resentment caused by the window smashing produced a frame of mind which made it easy for any member who wished to back out of his promise to support the Bill to do so. She further drew attention to Miss Martineau's "Thirty Years' Peace" on the question of whether violence and crime promotes or retards political reform. She concluded:—"I do not for a moment allow that the cause of women's freedom can be killed by a few wrong-headed enthusiasts; but I do say that our chance of winning a great advance in it this session will almost certainly be destroyed if militancy is persisted in."

Miss Kenney's Reply

To this Miss Kenney replied as follows:—

"Mrs. Fawcett explains that in her opinion the rejection of the Conciliation Bill was not wholly, but was largely due, to militancy. In our opinion, militancy is the very last thing in the world to which that defeat can be attributed. Mrs. Fawcett's friends the Labour members were responsible for the hostile majority of fourteen votes, because seventeen of them were absent from the division, and fifteen of these were not even paired in favour of the Bill. As I stated in my reply to Mrs. Fawcett's first letter on militancy, the fact that the Conciliation Bill was not to be immediately shelved, but was destined after passing its second reading to get into Committee, was the cause of much pledge breaking by false friends, and Government intrigue against the Bill was yet another cause of its defeat."

"I remain firmly persuaded that Lord John Russell is the final authority upon the question of whether militancy helped or hindered the passing of the Reform Act of 1832, and he has distinctly stated that what prompted Lord Grey to bring in that measure was the conviction that only by that means could a revolution be averted. Lord John Russell has also made it absolutely clear that it was militancy that necessitated the surrender of the House of Lords and their acceptance of the Bill."

"No doubt it was said in 1831 that militancy was injuring the cause of reform, but that opinion was falsified by the event. In future days, when women have got the vote, those who read the records of this present time will see that militancy was condemned by 'constitutional' Suffragists, though they will also see (the militants of these days being more articulate than the militants of 1831) that a great many other Suffragists regarded militancy as indispensable. I venture to think that posterity will decide that the militants were right, and that the history of women's suffrage will prove anew the truth of Gladstone's saying that 'if the only instruction issued to the people of this country in political crises had been to love order and hate violence, the liberties of this country would never have been attained.'"



Deputation to Mr. Borden (Miss Wylie, Miss Winifred Mayo, Miss Rachel Barrett, B.Sc., and Miss Evelyn Sharp)

OUR HOLIDAY CAMPAIGN

The Holiday Campaign goes on apace, and meets with continued success and interest; impression is being made even on those who have hitherto held up their hands in horror at the "awful militant methods." The reports sent in from several of the places where the campaign is being carried on speak for themselves.

In far Dumfriesshire one of our members has been selling Votes at Maniaine with great success, and has induced the newsagent there to keep it for sale; she has also succeeded in obtaining two regular subscribers. We hope that this plan of inducing newsagents to show our posters and keep the paper in stock will be adopted by everyone on the Campaign, and also by those members who are nervous of trying other methods of propaganda or of carrying on any other work. To get our paper widely read is the most necessary work of the moment, and casual readers nearly always become permanent subscribers.

Another Glasgow member, who is spending her holidays on the shores of Loch Long, is doing a brisk trade with Votes at Portincapple and Gareloch. This country is decidedly new, and we thank Miss Florence Robertson for her help in making our paper known.

Over a dozen papers per-day are being sold by Miss Craig (Glasgow member) at theatre queues in Glasgow.

At Palling, Norfolk, a member has been selling pamphlets and papers in dozens and distributing leaflets. This last is another good way of advertising our paper and work.

In Wales

From Miss Valerie Yeoman comes a most interesting account of her campaign at Llandrindod Wells. She writes:—

"Armed with my bag of papers and a supply of handbills, I took up my position just outside the gates of the Pump Hotel, so that all those going to drink at the springs were bound to pass me. This proved to be an excellent pitch. I met with a great deal of sympathy and interest, and disposed of a dozen copies in a little more than an hour, two-thirds of my customers being men. I had not been standing more than three minutes when a man and his wife stopped. I gave him a handbill, which he crushed in his hand with a snort of disgust. 'Come on,' he said angrily to his wife, 'I don't believe in that rot,' but she was evidently one of our 'Rebel Women,' for before he stalked away she announced her intention not only of stopping, but of buying a paper too, which she did. Next came two men. One said he thought the paper was very dangerous, and he was afraid to buy it. 'You're afraid of being converted,' I retorted, which had the effect of making him and his friend take a copy each. Two ladies expressed gratitude to me for doing such work, but I told them it was very interesting and quite enjoyable when one was accustomed to it. They had evidently never done any themselves, or they would have known that the compensations far outweigh the few drawbacks. One lady asked piteously if we were going to do any more damage. I answered that depended upon the Government, at which her husband chuckled, and she went on, sadly shaking her head."

From Torquay we hear that in spite of rain eighteen meetings have been held in nineteen days, and the paper has been selling very well. Thanks to Mrs. Collyer for her successful drawing-room meeting and "At Home," also to the Babbacombe ladies who got up a popular entertainment and procession from St. Mary's Church Town Hall to Babbacombe Downs, where a well-attended open-air meeting

was held. On this occasion Dr. Ethel Smyth's "March of the Women" was played for the first time in Torquay by the brass band escorting the procession, and was greeted with great approval by the audience.

Miss Randall and Miss Ward have just finished their very successful campaign at Newquay. The *Newquay Express* reports:—

"The Votes for Women holiday campaign continues to go on bravely in Newquay, and the sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN is going up very considerably. Meetings have been held every evening at Cheltenham Place, and have for the most part been attentively listened to, though there have been occasional interruptions which have only increased the interest."

This from a local paper, independent of any promptings from our members, is quite promising. Miss Randall reports that last week 93 out of 100 papers were sold, and on the 30th they sold out the 40 papers ordered in the one day. They had ten short meetings in Cheltenham Place, and each night had a larger and more sympathetic crowd. They have sold four dozen "Speeches from the Dock," and other literature has been in great demand. Lastly five members have just joined the Newquay W.S.P.U.

"We have had a great many talks with passers-by, and the usual remarks, but one rather amused us. While I was standing at the exit from the beach with the poster, an earnest little girl about seven years old said softly and seriously to her younger brother, 'Should like to tell her how ashamed she ought to be,' but 'she' was only much amused." Miss Randall tells us this amusing episode. As this terminates the campaign at Newquay, we thank both Miss Randall and Miss Ward for their splendid work during the campaign, especially Miss Randall for her speeches at the street meetings, and Miss Ward for her successful address given at the drawing-room meeting so kindly got up by Mrs. Bryan-Daunt.

At Aldeburgh, Miss Jacob writes to tell of the regatta that is being got up there, in which she hopes to take an active part advertising VOTES FOR WOMEN. She writes: "People express great surprise when they hear what I have to sell. 'Oh! I thought I had left you behind in London.' That's just the good about VOTES FOR WOMEN—it never is left behind anywhere."

An Opening

At Herne Bay one member has been able to persuade Smith's bookstall to display our poster. She has also been doing good work advertising our paper, and explaining our work and methods; she tells us that Herne Bay is very backward as to their knowledge of the movement, and that as their only chance of hearing about us is from the daily papers, it is not likely that they could get even a glimpse of the truth. Here is an opening for any members in Herne Bay to do what they can to get VOTES FOR WOMEN widely known and generally read.

Miss Goodman writes a good account of the Blackpool campaign, which was organised by Miss Markwick, and which terminated last week.


In spite of the rain they had good meetings every day, and even the meetings during the dinner-hour were well attended.

"One gentleman refused to believe that there were any other Unions besides the W.S.P.U., and he'd 'lock us all up for our behaviour.' He shouted, 'I don't believe it' when I gave him a list of the other Unions working for the same end. The crowds have been most kind, and the men take an intelligent view of things, and argue well."

Will any members wishing to do work for the campaign write to Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Clement's Inn? All workers are welcome, and suggestions will be given to everyone needing them.



Selling "Votes for Women" in Mrs. Humphry Ward's Village.



WOLSEY

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Every Wolsey garment is guaranteed unshrinkable. Any garment proving otherwise will be replaced entirely free of cost.

Wolsey for Ladies includes Combinations, Bodices, Vests, Hosiery, Gloves, etc. Wolsey for Men includes Vests, Pants, Combinations, Half Hose, etc. Also a wide variety for children.

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—not because we say so, but because economy and common-sense so unmistakably dictate it.


By every test the *cheapest in the long run* Wolsey offers you such comfort, health-protection, all round satisfaction as you'll look far to find elsewhere.

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Selling more freely than any other brand of underwear in the world, Wolsey calls for an enormous scale of manufacture, which in turn makes possible Wolsey's incomparable value.

WOLSEY UNDERWEAR CO., LEICESTER.

On no account accept as genuine Wolsey any garment which does not bear this Wolsey Mark.



OPINIONS OF LABOUR MEN

In a letter to the *Labour Leader*, Mr. T. E. Phillips, Tunbridge Wells, writes:—

"I wish to add emphasis to the views that have recently found expression in the columns of the *Leader* over the signatures of George Lansbury, J. Beanland, and Tom Norris touching the present and future action of the I.L.P. with regard to woman's franchise. It seems to me that we are at the parting of the ways."

"It is only a few months ago that these same columns were replete with articles and information in which the duties of the party were set forth with energy and precision. Many of us—and I believe the party as a whole—rejoiced in the prospective vision of a combination of forces that would prove irresistible in the battle of right against wrong. There was some talk of the woman movement being the rightful wife of the Labour movement, but, if so, our step has not been in front, nor abreast, but behind, and a hesitating one at that. If we have failed to a relative silence and inaction in the matter it is not that the women have failed in one jot or tittle of their purpose or programme. They stand to-day in the very forefront for social righteousness. They beat against and break through a ring of legal iniquities by striking right home at the face of the offence. Like Arnold Winkelried, they make way for liberty by gathering the spears of the enemy into their own bosoms. We may lack such wit or courage, but let us at least follow the assault, provide the rear guards, and prevent betrayals."

"The action of the Irish Party was a base betrayal, and should be met by counteractive forces by the Labour Party to reverse the issues. The sectional liberties of Irish Home Rule are not worth the price—no sectional advantage is worth the betrayal of principle. We need a clear note. I trust that the eyes and feet of the party will not veer in the direction of compromise. Should it do so—from any consideration of sectional advantage to itself or the Liberal Party—I shall consider that supremely vital interests will be best secured by an undivided service to 'Votes for Women.'"

*"There is a dare, a final dare,
Sleeps in the soul of Time's despair;
'Tis might for womanhood's redress,
'Tis doom of man's ungodliness."*

In the *Labour Leader* also, Mr. Thomas G. Rogers writes a letter, from which we take the following extracts:—

"Those who feel keenly the injustice to women as well as the general economic blunder of keeping women unenfranchised, are anxiously looking to the Labour Party at this crisis. Frankly, the women's fate is in their hands; will they have the courage, the nobility, the wisdom to rise to the occasion? . . . If once Mr. Redmond and Mr. Asquith know that the Labour Party mean business, their fear of women will vanish like the morning mist."

Only this week Geo. Barnes has been telling his constituents that he is not prepared to sacrifice the Bill for the women. When will he recognise that the women's cause is man's; we rise or fall together?"

Mr. J. Beanland, Urmston, writes to the *Clarion* a letter, in the course of which he says:—

"There is one live question which, from every point of view, deserves to be made our next step, and that is the enfranchisement of women, not in any hole-and-corner fashion, but on equal terms with men."

"In a fight for the equality of the sexes, for the recognition of women as equal human beings, with equal human rights, the Socialist movement ought not to lag behind the Salvation Army, which has taught it practically for thirty years. If we fail them now, just when there is some little hope of their success; if we accept the one-sided 'Reform' Bill, and leave them to lie under the intolerable insult which that Bill offers to all women, then Russell Lowell's words will apply to us—'They are slaves most base, whose love of right is for themselves, and not for all the race.'"

"Sooner or later, with our help or without it, the women will win their cause, because they are willing to pay any price for it. But are we going to make them pay it? If there be still any vision amongst us, any chivalry, any hatred of oppression and wrong, let us tell Mr. Asquith and his medieval crew of woman-torturers that we will not have men's rights at the cost of women's wrongs; and let us show the women of England, now, that at least a section of their countrymen put justice and honour and freedom before place and power and personal ends; and that because they also fight for these things which we hold dear, henceforth we will march with them, and fight with them, and 'dam the consequences.'"

THE QUALITY WAY.

CLARK'S DYE WORKS, 14, Hallcroft Road, Retford.

The office re-opens middle of September. Will all workers and members who hitherto have not been able to work, consider what hours they can spare? There will be much to do during autumn, and paper-selling and meetings will be most important. The Secretary hopes to arrange members' rally to meet some of Birmingham ex-prisoners. (Hon. Sec.—Miss C. Bryer, 42, Tutnall Park, E.)



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RICHMOND AND KNEW.

Open-air meetings begin to-morrow (Saturday). The dates of first members' meeting and prisoners' reception will shortly be announced. A very fine wreath was sent from this union to the late Nurse Pittfield's funeral, which was attended by several local members and friends. (Hon. Sec.—Mrs. C. T. Clayton, Glenariff, Kew Road, Richmond, Surrey.)

WEST HAM.

Shop now re-opened. Will members try to give an afternoon or evening, 3.4 or 6.9 p.m. A large stock of anything saleable is also needed, profits only need be given. Cakes, jams, sweets, and other eatables specially welcome Saturdays, when there will always be a sale of provisions. Books for library are much wanted. All members invited to shop-warming Tuesday (see programme), when autumn plans will be discussed and new stock on view. Will anyone give, or lend, bookcase or shelves, and some chairs? Gratefully acknowledged: Miss Widdicombe, £1; Dr. Katherine Henley (fee for attending a prisoner after forcible feeding), 10s. (Hon. Sec.—Miss Hooper, Shop—32a, Romford Road, Stratford.)

WIMBLEDON.

There will be no meeting Wimbledon Common Sunday, September 2. The following Sunday usual meetings will be resumed at 3 p.m. Those members who, year in year out, support this weekly open-air platform heartily thanked for unremitting help. Will more members try to attend as sellers? Paper sales—an important part of these meetings—are steadily increasing, requiring more volunteers. Some Albert Hall tickets remain, 2s. 6d. and 6d.; apply Miss Lee Picture postcards, framed or unframed (4d. or 2d.) of Mary Leigh on sale at shop. Some garden meeting photos remain unclaimed. Cannot be reserved unless by special written request. Attention is drawn to petition in shop in charge of Miss Lee; members and friends, please call and sign. Jumble parcels should be sent (marked "Jumble") without delay now to Dorset Hall. Men's and children's garments specially needed in large quantities. Weekly indoor meetings commence October 24 (Thursday), 8 p.m. Queen's Hall. Lecture Hall meetings on Wednesday evenings commence November 20. Excellent programme arranged in each case; members should make widely known. The Women's Rights Library publications now on sale. (Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Lamartine Yates, Shop—8, Victoria Crescent, Broadway.)

WIMBLEDON PARK AND S. WIMBLEDON.

All working members are looking forward to a strenuous autumn campaign. Meetings re-commence to-morrow, Saturday (see programme). Please send Jumble Sale contributions to Hon. Sec. The Court train as used in "The £12 Look" can be hired, 2s. 6d. every performance; carriage to be paid both ways also. (Hon. Sec.—Mrs. E. Secor, 3, Marguerite Villas, Copse Hill, Wimbledon.)

WOOLWICH.

Members please attend Elinor Road to-night and every Friday evening (see programme). Thanks to Miss Bayne for introducing Miss Olive Webb, Miss Amy Webb, Miss Margaret Tobin, and Miss Taylor as new members. Will friends do their best to obtain new readers for the paper and new members? (Hon. Sec.—Miss Gregory and Miss Clifford, 4, Heathwood Gardens, Charlton.)

Home Counties.

REXHILL-ON-SEA.

Members please note that on Miss Allen's return in September weekly At Homes will be resumed; particulars later. Very many thanks to Miss Raff and Miss Byham for great help in paper-selling and distributing leaflets. (Org.—Miss M. S. Allen, W.S.P.U., Shop, Marina.)

BOURNEMOUTH.

The Hon. Treasurer will be glad if members who have not paid their annual subscriptions will do so before end of this month. (Hon. Sec.—Miss E. Berry, 221, Old Christchurch Road.)

BRIGHTON, HOVE, AND DISTRICT.

Mrs. Dacre Fox aroused great interest at crowded meetings last week-end. Mrs. Pankhurst will speak at the Home, Tuesday, October 22, 8 p.m. Will members please note and advertise this meeting? Paper-sellers still wanted for Saturday mornings on front. (Org.—Miss G. Allen, 8, North Street, Quadrant.)

CANTERBURY AND SOUTH KENT.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence speaks Foresters' Hall, Canterbury, October 23. Will members please make this meeting known as widely as possible? Many thanks to Miss Helen Nicoll, who has returned to town, for her valuable help while in Folkestone. The following ladies have kindly consented to act as permanent honorary local secretaries: Miss Birch, 81, Sepulchre's, Oak Hill, Canterbury; Lady Lamb, 23, Lime Road, Folkestone; Miss Ritchie, Jenkins, Dover. (Org.—Miss F. E. M. Macaulay, Trevarra, 30, Bourverie Road West, Folkestone.)

EASTBOURNE.

New members have been enrolled. Gratefully acknowledged: G. A. Ronquette, Esq., £5; Miss Walters, 2s. (Org.—Miss M. S. Allen, 10, Southfields Road.)

HASTINGS AND ST. LEONARDS.

Miss Agnes Kelly's delightful address Tuesday evening interested a large crowd. Members looking forward to welcoming back Miss Allen after her holiday. New members obtained, thanks to Miss Tristram and Mrs. Pope. (Org.—Miss M. S. Allen, 8, Claremont.)

READING.

Shop will re-open Monday, September 16. Excellent speakers have promised to attend fortnightly At Homes during winter. The first will be held Palmer Hall October 5, when Miss Dorothy Pethick will speak. (Hon. Sec.—Miss O. L. Cobb, Shop—49, Market Place.)

WORTHING.

Beach meeting, August 30, very large; addressed by Mrs. Dacre Fox. Will anyone volunteer to sell papers Friday and Saturday evenings? Petition at No. 11, Liverpool Terrace, for signature. Mrs. Zang, with charming personality and quiet humour, proved very attractive to a large audience on Friday, August 23. She took for her text the arguments against Woman's Suffrage given on a leaflet being circulated in Worthing. She scored all along the line. A noisy dissident afterwards proposed a vote of thanks, which was carried unanimously. (Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Tarrant, 11, Liverpool Terrace.)

The Midlands.

NOTTINGHAM.

New offices, more convenient and extensive, open Tuesday, September 17. Miss Winifred Mayo will perform opening ceremony, and will also recite. Please obtain invitation cards from Shop, and distribute among friends. Subscriptions towards sign and other necessities urgently needed. Trestle table, typewriter table, cupboards, drawers or shelves will be very welcome. First fortnightly meeting will be held October 1. Orders have been received for jam, but no jam. Who will provide some? (Org.—Miss Crocker, Miss Roberts, 6, Carlton Street.)

West of England.

BRISTOL.

Paper sellers wanted Friday and Saturday mornings, 12-2 p.m. Will all members please keep Saturday, September 14, free for special members' meeting. Further particulars next week. (Hon. Org.—Mrs. Dove-Wilcox, Office—37, Queen's Road, Clifton.)

CORNWALL.

Will members help at meetings arranged for Miss Annie Williams, Organiser for Cardiff and district, at Masonic Hall, Redruth, September 10, 8 p.m.; Town Hall, Truro, September 14, at 3 p.m.; Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Tremayne, 10s.; Miss G. Williams, 2s. 6d. (Hon. Sec.—Miss E. Williams, Glasaton, Derran, R.S.O.)

ILFRACOMBE AND BARNSTAPLE.

A Jumble Sale will be held in October in aid of local funds. Miss Hall will be pleased to store contributions and to give information about sale. Hon. Sec. will be away during September. (Hon. Sec. pro tem.—Miss Ball, Nursing Home, Larkstone.)

NEWPORT.

Goods for members' stall should now be sent to the office. Will all members do their utmost to make sale at Llanwrtyd, September 18, a great success by selling tickets, price 6d. each? More jumbles wanted—please send at once to Office or to Miss Watts, The Friars. (Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Mackworth, Office—11, Stow Hill.)

TORQUAY AND PAIGNTON.

Heartily thanks to Miss G. Allen, of Brighton, who, with splendid success, conducted campaign of open-air meetings and sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Paper sales greatly increased through Miss Allen's efficient organising and the very kind help given by Miss Hewitt and Miss Whately. Jumble Sale was a great success, realising profit of £5 10s. Many thanks for contributions, and to those who helped at sale. Help in paper-selling urgently requested. Apply: (Hon. Sec.—Mrs. O. Fausten, Chalet La Rosaire, Livermead.)

Wales.

BARRY.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence will speak at St. Mary's Hall, Thursday, November 7. (Hon. Sec.—Miss Jones, 259, Gladstone Road.)

CARDIFF AND DISTRICT.

The Organiser would be grateful if members and friends who have promised to help with office rent would send donations to her during this month. Coming events for which to prepare are: October, Miss G. Brackenbury; November 20, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence; December, Jumble Sale. A special business meeting for members will be held as soon as Organiser returns from holiday. Office open from 10 to 1 p.m. Miss Lettice Floyd in charge. (Org.—Miss Annie Williams, Office—27, Charles Street, Cardiff.)

Eastern Counties.

IPSWICH AND DISTRICT.

Members are reminded that blackberry jam or jelly sells excellently; the Shop Sec. will be very grateful for that or any sort of jam. Many thanks to those who have already sent in parcels for Jumble Sale. Miss L. Roe, 55, Fonnereau Road, is kindly storing them till sale. (Org.—Miss Grace Roe, Shop Sec.—Miss King, Shop—Dial Lane.)

North-Eastern Counties.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT.

Autumn work begins September 16, with usual Monday tea party. Members asked to attend in full force, as Mrs. Pankhurst will speak in Bradford, October 20, and every effort must be made to have a record meeting. It is proposed to hold a Jumble Sale October 7 to raise funds for autumn campaign. There are many projects on foot. Members please attend opening meeting without fail, and bring friends who may help. (Hon. Sec.—Miss Millar-Wilson, Office—68, Manningham Lane.)

LEEDS AND DISTRICT.

The meeting on Woodhouse Moor on Sunday splendid success thanks to Dr. Helena Jones' excellent speech; crowd most sympathetic. Papers sold out, and two petition forms filled up. Rain ceased on speaker's arrival, and recommended on her departure! Similar meetings will be held every Sunday till further notice. Helpers, please meet at office

at 3 p.m. to get permits, regalia, &c. Teas every Tuesday as usual. Office now open every afternoon, 2.30 to 5.30. For speakers next Sunday see notice board at office. September subscriptions due. (Hon. Sec.—Miss G. Palmer, Office—3, Cockridge Street.)

NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT.

The first Wednesday meeting will be held September 11 (see programme), when it is hoped all members will attend to hear autumn arrangements. Members urged to begin working at once for Mrs. Pankhurst's visit in November. Miss Alatham will speak in the district the last week in September. The Organiser wishes to thank those members, and especially Mrs. Atkinson, for keeping flag flying during her absence from district. (Org.—Miss Laura Ainsworth, Shop—89, Backett Street.)

SHEFFIELD AND DISTRICT.

Tuesday's meeting was a great success; a large crowd listening to Miss Sumfield's splendid speech. A good collection was taken, and papers sold out. Many thanks to Miss Sumfield and to Miss Irons, R.A., for taking the chair. Tickets for Mr. Pethick Lawrence's meeting will be ready shortly. Don't forget London meeting, and please don't forget Jumble Sale. (Hon. Sec.—Miss F. E. Corhill, 2628, Chapel Walk.)

North-Western Counties.

BOLTON, BURY, AND DISTRICT.

Members taking part in demonstration, Platt Fields, Manchester, September 7, 3.30 p.m., please meet at Trinity Street Station, Bolton, for 1.30 p.m. train, to join others at 2 p.m. St. Peter's Square, Manchester, when all leave at 2.30 p.m. to walk to Platt Fields. (Hon. Sec.—Miss M. Martin, Miss S. W. Holden, 685, Manchester Road, St. Peter.)

LIVERPOOL AND DISTRICT.

Open-air meeting on Saturday, August 31, on the Haymarket, Birkenhead. Large, attentive audience; considerable questioning. VOTES FOR WOMEN and "Speeches from Dock" sold. Speaker, Miss Woodcock. (Org.—Miss Davies, Office—11, Remshaw Street.)

MANCHESTER.

Instead of the usual members' meeting at office to-night there will be a public meeting in Milton Hall, Deansgate (see programme). Members, please rally in St. Peter's Square at 2 p.m. prompt to march (Saturday). Procession will commence at 2.30, and march via Oxford Road and Wilmshurst Road, to Platt Fields, Rusholme, where a mass meeting will be held at 3.30 p.m. There will be six platforms. For speakers, see programme. The Men's League and Men's Political Union will also be represented. (Hon. Sec.—Miss K. Walkwork, Office—32, King Street West.)

Scotland.

EDINBURGH AND EAST OF SCOTLAND.

Another excellent outdoor meeting held St. Andrew's last Saturday, when Mrs. Shaw McLaren and Miss Mitchell made interesting speeches. A good collection was taken, and 43 papers sold. A delightful meeting also took place in the new rooms Tuesday evening, with an inspiring address from Mrs. Saul Solomon. Many strangers were present, a liberal collection was taken, and good sale of literature made. Successful outdoor meetings have also been held by Miss Melrose and others. (Org.—Miss Lucy Burns, Office—27, Frederick Street.)

MEN'S POLITICAL UNION

For Women's Enfranchisement

A very good meeting was held Thursday, August 29, near Wandsworth Prison, by Mr. V. Duval and Miss Barry, who addressed a large and sympathetic audience. Thanks to speakers and to Wandsworth and Clapham W.S.P.U. members who gave such splendid help. When this is in the hands of our readers of "V.A.W." Mr. Gray will have been restored to liberty and the outside world. The good wishes and gratitude of the members and friends of the M.P.U. go with Mr. Gray, to whom an official welcome will be given at a Public Meeting in the Kensington Town Hall in October. Full particulars will appear later. Encouraged by the success of the Wandsworth meeting, it has been decided to hold meetings in Wandsworth and Brixton on alternate Mondays. Hyde Park meetings will be resumed on Sunday, Sept. 22, at 3 p.m. Members and friends are reminded of the M.P.U. boxes at the Albert Hall on October 17. Tickets (price 2s. 6d.) can be obtained at the address below. An arduous campaign is before us, and the Hon. Treasurer will be glad to receive contributions, no matter how small, to the Campaign Fund. Already acknowledged, £1,601 12s. 3d.: P. De Ritter, Esq., 5s.; P. De Ritter, Esq., 1s. 6d.; P. E. Shaw, Esq., 1s. 6d.; C. F. Sentence, Esq., 1s.; A. L. Scott, Esq., 1s.; Membership fees, 5s.; Collection Wandsworth open-air meeting, August 27, 1s. 10d.; total, £1,602 9s. 1d. (Hon. Sec.—Mr. V. Duval, Office—13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.)

CLERKS' W.S.P.U.

Albert Hall tickets now on sale. Members with free time in the evenings are asked to write to the secretaries. Particulars of next members' meeting will be announced later. (Hon. Sec.—Miss Cynthia Maguire, 39, Priory Road, W. Hampstead, Miss P. A. Ayton, 62, Edith Road, W. Kensington.)

IRISH WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY

Mrs. Bennet, Mrs. McCoubrey, and Miss G. Gibson have just returned from a most successful open-air campaign in the north of Ulster—Coleraine, Ballymoney, Ballycastle, and Ballymena have been visited. In spite of rain two meetings fully were held, and large, interested crowds listened to the reasons why women want votes. If some kind friend would supply us with a motor-car, or funds to hire one, a tremendous amount of work could be done with a minimum of expense and fatigue. As it is, a few are working away at tremendous personal expense and inconvenience. Next Monday's meeting at Donegal Square, opposite City Hall, 8 p.m. (Office—27, Donegal Place.)

QUALITY AND VALUE.

A perusal of the illustrated catalogue of the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company—which can be obtained post free from 112, Regent Street, London, W.—convinces one that purchasers of Gem Jewellery and Gold and Silver Plate may there obtain the utmost value for their money. [Adv.]

ALFRED C. BROOKS,

BUILDER, DECORATOR, SANITARY ENGINEER, AND HOUSE AGENT.

23, Exmouth Street, Commercial Road, E.; and 261, Hither Green Lane, Lewisham, S.E. Telephone—East 3503.

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOC. FOR W.S.

A very strenuous autumn campaign has been planned, but to carry it through effectively money and service urgently needed. Will members and friends willing to give either or both please write to the Secretary? Miss McGowan, who is organising in Peckham, Dulwich, and Putney, would be particularly grateful for assistance at open-air meetings. An autumn Jumble Sale will be held. Contributions heartily welcomed at office. A small gold chain has been found, the owner of which may receive same upon application. (Office—8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge, S.W.)

IRISH WOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE

Open-air meetings have been held regularly every Friday evening at Boreland Place and at Phoenix Park on Saturdays during the past month. We have to thank Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, who spared some of her holiday time to speak for us at the Park. Her address was listened to with much interest. 500 more signatures to the memorial have been sent forward to the Lord Lieutenant, and names will be welcomed until the demand is granted. Leaflets dealing with the danger of forcible feeding are being widely distributed. (Office—8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge, S.W.)

MEN'S FEDERATION FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

The meeting held outside Wandsworth Prison on Saturday last to protest against the two months' hard labour for Mr. Chas. Gray and the vindictive sentences of penal servitude in the case of Mary Leigh and Miss Evans was a great success. Thanks to Mark Wilks and Victor Prout, and very hearty thanks to Mr. Ernest Durrall, the M.P.U., for the splendid speech with which he supported our protest; and thanks to the members of Wandsworth and Brixton W.S.P.U. The first of the series of weekly meetings held in Finsbury Park on Sunday was also a very real success, and attracted a very large crowd of local Liberals. Much good work can be done here, and all friends are invited to assist us next week. Many thanks to the speakers: E. W. Fawcett, Mark Wilks, and Victor Prout. (Hon. Sec.—Victor Prout, Office—28, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.)

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